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28 September 1983

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## DE RUITER ON MISSILE DEBATE, ROLE IN NATO

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 10 Sep 83 pp 10-17

[Article on Job de Ruiter, minister of defense: "IKV acts rashly"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] "When the IKV [Interdenominational Peace Council] started, I thought that a usable idea had been developed to make people think about peace and security. After that, the IKV went too far." This is what the minister of defense said in a conversation with /Alice Oppenheim/. No other portfolio in The Hague is as controversial as his, no policy as nationally "conducted" as that of our defense. What De Ruiter is looking for and needs, is: trust.

"We are simply confronted with a gigantic over-armament. The facts were worse than I thought. Facts can be an eye-opener sometimes. Also, we worry about an ever-widening rift between what you think you can possibly do in a political sense as far as armament control is concerned, and the ideals many people from outside of politics impress upon you. But we do not have a choice any longer, we will have to work with the facts as they are. One problem is that not everything occurring in international relations can be explained. Political pressure does not necessarily appear in the newspaper. In this respect our democratic society sometimes displays the evils of quality. And not every move on the chess board of the armament control negotiations can be discussed in the national parliaments, if, at least, you do not want to play into the opponent's hand or destroy what has been carefully prepared."

The extent of the problems at the Ministry of Defense was more than Job de Ruiter had thought, even though he does not show that. He hardly got any time to consider when Lubbers approached him after a polite refusal. "Too short," he says now, "although one week would probably also not have been enough." But Lubbers knows his brothers, and, thus De Ruiter found himself suddenly--very much to his surprise--amidst the members of the general staff, the big NATO conference and, don't forget, amidst members of the political press. And they behaved differently at the high doorstep of the Ministry of Defense than at the steps of the Ministry of Justice.



"Are those things coming or not?" an impatient reporter asked half an hour after De Ruiter had been inaugurated. That does not even make De Ruiter smile. Patiently he explains why such a question is very premature and which possibilities he thinks he has, to formulate an answer to the issues of peace and security.

"What you consider to be solvable and unsolvable, depends on what you formulate as an issue for yourself. It is an easy job to formulate it so nicely that at once, it cannot be solved. If I were to say: All nuclear weapons should be gone from this world starting with Netherlands, then that would be splendid for many people. But I would not be able to do anything anymore. So, I do not believe it is effective to make this into such a politically charged issue. A goal which is too far, results in your efforts not paying off at all. That leads us, in my sincere opinion, astray which can be literally fatal. Many people are afraid and fear that nuclear war will break out before long. A short time ago I received a letter from a church council written in a tone like: Now that we are faced with the threat of a terrible nuclear war, we ask you... such a letter worries me tremendously. The situation does not point in the direction of imminent war. It is dangerous that such an atmosphere is created unintentionally. That excludes proper thinking about the issue of armament control and undermines the real support needed in our work. Personally, I do not think that there is a direct war threat in Europe but do add to this that we should not be easy as far as the extent of the weapon arsenals is concerned. At this moment the most dangerous thing is to lose sight of the fact that peace is still served by stable military relations, and by a certain balance and by staying close together by way of talks and negotiations. Therefore, Andropov's proposals can be viewed as hopeful and translate into a clear sign of interest from that side. But when I heard what happened to that Korean airplane, that literally had me by the throat; I was bewildered. One realizes at once that such a thing could have far-reaching political consequences. Talking about arms represents only a small part of reality if, for the rest, mutual relations are not promoted and respected. This is an enormous blow to trust. The work here at the Ministry of Defense," he says carefully, "seems almost continuously to consist of being in control under circumstances we, ourselves, did not create. No matter how much one has his own views and is busy with those, it mainly means considering circumstances and conflicts originating elsewhere in the world."

It looks like De Ruiter is a bit lost in the high room at the Plein in The Hague. He is shy, and at a loss with this type of an interview. Sometimes he is so careful with his words that their meaning gets lost in the stream of clauses and explanations. This minister of the defense tackles a talk in which his opinion and policy are drawn out, almost strategically. After questions a sensible politician cannot answer, De Ruiter falls silent in a bit of an awkward manner and he smiles friendly and waits, like a judge. If it goes a bit too far, he says: "I find this line of thought not very useful and it could lead us on a speculative course." Then he looks encouraging through his frivolously purple glasses and is visibly concerned about rendering his words and intentions correctly.



He is not a political die-hard who wants to make a strong impression concerning matters about which most people can only think and inquire with fear in their hearts.

After his early years in Heemstede where the family joined the Free Calvinist Church, Job de Ruiter started his student life off rigidly. It appeared that in practice he was not a person whose tongue runs away with him and he developed into a lawyer who approached matters of right and wrong in a libertine way. "Of course a situation is not always like one sees it. If, however, you cling to your own opinion, you reach very confident views and judgments and you live in a constant, controversial relation with life. My slowly developed, yet carefully balanced attitude has everything to do with the way in which I want to think about people and their limitations. My judgment of something must always be related to the total circumstances. It is not true that I start somewhere and then end up somewhere else altogether, but I do think that I have to go pretty far in the sphere of refinement and taking into account certain interests. In politics conclusions have to be reached; the danger of my way of thinking is that one gets stuck in deliberations."

De Ruiter does not look for support from others quickly. "I could call up De Gaay Fortman if you would ask me that now; he is indeed someone I feel close to and I could ask for advice. But usually I look for advice closer to home. In the first place I go to the prime minister, and of course there is much contact with the minister of foreign affairs. Jan de Koning is another example of a man with an awful lot of political experience."

Christian principles form a handle for Job de Ruiter to find solutions. "Especially under changing circumstances. It is hard to say exactly which impulses I draw from the Bible. I think, a fundamental-critical attitude which makes sure that you are not tempted to let form take the place of content. Because of a formalistic attitude you can achieve the opposite of your intentions. Another impulse the Bible gives me, is the idea that one never needs to resign to anything in life. Politics is changing, intervening and altering, looking for a passable way. The biblical testimony is hopeful and, in that sense, every day again it is for me a touchstone for my approach preventing me from putting externals, small vanities before taking measures for a better and safer life for the people. I try to be open realizing that there is more between heaven and earth than I can think of in a hurry."

De Ruiter is a soloist. He is not a person who goes to party members to lobby political support. He experiences his transition to politics as "a masterly event", but does not get much pleasure from the public side of it. He has learned to maintain his position very well in the Second Chamber [House of Representatives], but in television interviews he looks a bit like a hare putting his ears in his neck because of a faint feeling of danger.

"Such a situation is often sort of a sham. One is expected to answer far-reaching questions adequately in several minutes, sometimes second. That is

often impossible and I cannot stop myself from pointing this out to the person who asks the question. I understand one tends to think of that as /professorai/. Well, everyone is a bit like the way he is and so am I. I suppose I may. After all there are some small inconveniences in politics which create a cynical touch and limitations in associations with others, because I am not a real soloist. If you want to keep a secret, you can forget about that in The Hague. So, because of circumstances you start keeping your mouth shut. But on the other hand you learn that the damage of making matters public is not as bad as you think. Being silent for too long is often more harmful than being open. My curious experience is that, at this Ministry also, not much needs to be kept secret. Public opinion plays a large role in our decision-making. But anyone should be able to understand that, in its political design, I do take into account certain international interests of which people here have not yet been informed. I also think that it is not right to only think in terms of strict government majority, especially not concerning subjects of which I now have an overall picture."

This past summer De Ruiter was overwhelmed by the first wave of emotional and intellectual reactions which the Dutch people can produce.

"The section 'stories about Indians' was very large," he laughed wryly and he takes a big gulp from his cup of whole milk. He leads a regular life, does not eat too much and knows when to stop working. De Ruiter will never be lost when the situation becomes tense. But when it concerns stories about Indians he becomes vehement.

"The influence of the so-called FRI-BO's--they mean Frinking and De Boer. Can I please bring that influence back to the right proportions? It is a matter of course that I am in contact now and then with spokesmen of my own party. Without that, one cannot function politically. But whoever thinks that from those contacts /the/ conclusions follow, is absolutely wrong. Support from the party is my vehicle, but that, because of that, I would be under the bad influence of so-called /leftist/ members of the Christian Democratic Appeal, is pure baloney--I am giving it to you straight. And whoever considers Van Houwelingen to be my /bad genius/, is himself a bad genius, I think. That is an absolutely idiotic remark. Van Houwelingen is a conscientious undersecretary concerned with /materiel/ and, therefore, travels merrily all over the world. We work together very normally, even come from the same party, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, but his past history is completely different from mine. Those writings are caboodle. Placing the situations of peace and security in some sort of a left-right relationship originates from unwisdom and especially from an awful suspicion."

When De Ruiter is mad, he remains composed, because he has a gentle nature. "It should be forbidden for a while to use the words leftist and rightist in these cases. We are very seriously studying the policy for the coming years and what can possibly be achieved. I do not want that work to get obscured. Nothing is sure yet and if people do not believe that, no honest cooperation with me is possible then. To misrepresent someone's carefully balanced attitude is simply unjust and unwise. These issues break away

from real narrow party politics. The actual situation makes this highly necessary. I do not have much against party politics but I do think that a rigid party approach somewhat prevents the solution of the extremely complicated issues we are now dealing with. I do not mean to say that we can operate abroad free from the party-political situation at home. Especially in this area a party should have a certain degree of flexibility. That should play a larger role in the Labor Party and possibly in the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy. In the latter party also, many have a rigid view, although I should add at once that I do not notice that so much in the more official points of view. Without wanting to appear electoral, I therefore say that I feel very much at home in the Christian Democratic Appeal in this respect. A critical view of developments is maintained and they do not run off to one side or the other. The essence of politics for me is not: How do we get one more seat?, but: How can we help improve everyone's circumstances in life? Real politics rises above small party priorities. Those will vanish like secondary noise."

This minister of defense made it known that he plans to start a discussion on a number of nuclear assignments within NATO. With the "Plan-Den Uyl," Den Uyl wanted to reduce the number of nuclear assignments to one or two. De Ruiter did not mention a number. He only wants to talk about it. Furthermore, De Ruiter proposed the base Woensdrecht in the cabinet council which reacted positively. Give and take. "We are," De Ruiter says, "rather late with discussing the Dutch nuclear arms assignments. If you read everything we officially stated (also in the Christian Democratic Appeal), you cannot imagine why these matters were not specifically raised much earlier. We are now working on the defense budget which I would like to have ready by the end of the year. That moment coincides with the report of a NATO study on the composition and extent of the nuclear arms package. Also, first we have to get the reaction from NATO to the resolutions and considerations set forth by us. First of all of course we must keep functioning within the alliance, but that does not contradict that Netherlands develops its own view. We do not all have to be in precise harmony. More and more is added all the time. If you want to give that a different direction, then that should be brought forward rather pointedly, in my opinion. And for that, it is necessary that your cabinet is behind you."

De Ruiter's voice sounds convincing. In The Hague people think that he has the prime minister's support but that Minister Van den Broek thinks differently. The rounds of talks are alternately presided by each of the three men, while public opinion is being formed and no one knows exactly what is really going to happen. De Ruiter, who, in his point of view does not want to illustrate only one side but always also the other side of a development, tones down--true to his nature--his own plan: "The idea that we would be doing something terrible if we take a critical position in NATO, is nonsense of course. In that case, NATO will not only not collapse, no indeed you will have to try very hard to make people listen to you. I must say frankly that, personally I would rather be in an atmosphere where people are more oriented toward this differentiated style of working. Shall we give ourselves a break before starting the second talk?"



He is looking without seeing and wonders almost visibly whether he has been clear enough, yet has not gone too far. You do not need to envy him. Dealing with this power is no fun.

The second talk takes place in a restaurant under the Big Church in Naarden. The Minister arrives there tanned and optimistic, seated on a high men's bicycle which he locks with one little key. He lives close by. "Sunday we went to the service in this church. My wife is in the town-council here for the Christian Democratic Appeal."

No one behaves other than normal, because De Ruiter lacks any electoral bombast. Ambitious people find him ambitious because he likes politics in spite of everything, and he wants to stay there for the time being. It is more probable that Job de Ruiter just works hard and wants to achieve something because he does not know at all what it means to take a shot at life. In that respect he fits in nicely among the generals, loyal to authority, with whom he confers a couple of times a week. "The armed forces," he says seriously and pushes the microphone away for the third time, "are exceptionally loyal. Here in the West there is no doubt that they will do what their governments want them to do. We rather stimulate them to think with us about general political matters than restrain them from doing so. The opinion that the armed forces would have become superfluous since nuclear arms, is as wrong as you can be. To maintain a reliable defense without a conventional army would make the use of nuclear weapons even more probable. Credible armament is of elementary importance for a country's self-confidence and security. And that has an effect upon the opponent. The meaning of nuclear arms is more political. Proportionally as well as absolutely we put in a reasonable defense effort. The 2 percent growth which we still have, is mainly accounted for by things like new airplanes, ships and tanks. Indeed, there is pressure from the side of NATO to adjust this increase to 3 percent or more. But for technological innovations one can, in principle, ask for unlimited money. So, in NATO we keep somewhat aloof. There is little which cannot be developed; the question is whether you can afford it and whether, by the time the product is ready, it would be needed. One needs to watch out not to glide along too easily in these matters. There are also people who, now that they have less money to spend, shout: Get some money from defense...a couple of planes more or less can make a big difference... The armed forces are not like a hobby, but are based on a political analysis of existing threats and our answer to them. But one does indeed need to watch out not to let economic interests govern. My impression is that matters are enormously interwoven."

For many this interwovenness is a reason for suspicion. How can a former Vice Chancellor determine when and why? De Ruiter's answer comes quickly: "The only think I can say to that is that you are there yourself. If that is not enough, people think that you would not be able to know. Well, you do know, because you are not supposed not to know. And there can be no doubt about this type of argument because there is no other one. Yet the rational analysis of the threat is not the only thing concerned. The value of the defense apparatus is definitely not only determined by the instruments

but also to a large degree by the way in which it is supported by the population. The Dutch Armed Forces are close to society; in this manner the population gets to know the military and its disposition as a matter of course in a very easy way. That is in contrast with the Russian situation and also the American one. I traveled around the United States visiting all types of bases and such. Everywhere I was received cordially and saw and heard everything I wanted to see and hear but I got the strong impression that the military society is much more removed from the regular society than is the case with us. Of course, one cause is the space they have there but their system is another cause. I prefer the way things are here. Openness, cognizance, sympathy are better. Besides, our compulsory military service contributes its own perspective."

De Ruiter did give his children a slap sometimes when they were small. He blushes when he admits this. "But I am not very militant," he says embarrassed. "You experience that as letting yourself go and not as: They should feel it...I know that people loose control of themselves and are very sorry about that later on. But I am not looking for conflicts."

He eagerly changes the subject. "It is part of mankind to wage war. Whoever thinks that it could not happen again, is stone blind and deaf. And I would not want to exclude any country from that possibility: the fact that a democratic system has been set up, is no guarantee that it will not happen. I will never say: It can originate in Moscow and not in the United States. I have followed it all since the Second World War. Of course in a different way than is the case now; I had my family and read the paper. We have been through quite a few threatening circumstances. When I was 18, there was Prague. After that the cold war. That was a reason for me at that time to become a member of the National Reserve Troops: in times of escalated tensions, guarding the railway yards. We had Hungary which made a tremendous impression on me. Then, the period during which those Russians developed those enormously big nuclear bombs. That was during the period in which we received instructions saying how one could protect oneself as well as possible within his home against a nuclear attack. That did make quite an impression on me. People bought emergency rations, certain boxes with biscuits which could be kept indefinitely. Yes, sure, I also did that... But what I am really trying to say is that we have seen a period of increasing threat before. Things did turn out all right also and were handled properly."

Threats... That concept hangs over the people like a mist through which they cannot see each other anymore. It wanders like a ghost through the marches, manifestations and official statements. Political parties use it to mobilize their voters and it is reason for young people not to want children. And the different groups in society all want this to cause a different result. One synod condemned possession as well as use of nuclear weapons, the other is only against first use of nuclear weapons but consider deterrent acceptable. Other bishops condemn the use of nuclear weapons against civilian targets and some other church organizations are not sure...



"It is not a matter," the minister of defense says, "of a conflict between peace-loving and militant people; it is all a matter of preventing war. And that has been politicized too much. When the IKV started, I thought that a usable idea had been developed to make people think about peace and security. After that they went too far. I think that one should not do two things at the same time. Saying on the one hand: this is our testimony which makes people think and on the other hand actually carrying on a political campaign. In this work I now notice that a political campaign does really not weigh more heavily if it bears the name of a church or a Christian organization. It is so thoughtless in its one-sidedness because here in Europe the public is very much part of the disarmament concept but there in the East public opinion hardly has a chance. People only receive one kind of information. There they do not know anything about all this. It is a very unfair game and that is something the IKV should have taken into account. Now an atmosphere of distrust has been created. That absolute distrust--I may say--has been created with respect to the political leaders in the West. This is completely unjust. My biggest worry is that partly because of that, no trust is left and that people reason like: Geneva is a kind of phantasmagoria, meant to throw dust in our eyes; after all, the intention is to escalate armament and put lots of cruise missiles in the country."

De Ruiter's calm, jerky style of speaking remains controlled. That is fortunate because no one profits by a hothead at the Ministry of Defense. "No," he hushed, "no, no...for the moment we are not faced with a decision concerning the cruise missiles. Only when we do not do or say anything next year June, then we are really dropping out. Really, Geneva is no theater play; there, sincere attempts are made to set as secure a policy as possible. And strange as it may sound, it is then indeed a matter of numbers of missiles needed to be credible. But again: up to now no decision has been made. As far as the cruise missiles are concerned, we have a political agreement to continue preparations whether we will get them or not. And it is possible that Geneva will continue like that for a while but I am not very much in favor of it. We do expect that we will have more insight into the negotiation results by the end of this year or the beginning of next year. We never said that we sit still until things are finished there but we also do not wish to disturb matters there at the wrong time by debating our decision now already. It does not seem clear and some criticism is possible in that direction, keeping pressure on the negotiations. And, of course, this cannot continue indefinitely. For the time being, I am going along with the wishes of the Chamber not to contract anything in Woensdrecht until a stationing decision has been made.

Freedom of choice at any stage which time will still bring: That is what this minister wants, and also this cabinet. A certain degree of freedom to act according to findings, some type of peace mandate of all those guides in Guideland. "For, he who cannot give trust, will not receive trust," Job de Ruiter says without any pathos but with absolute conviction. I know I have to win that trust. But a base is needed so that I can do it. The crucial question is how to explain to people who have nowhere to turn for

trust, what you are doing. A short time ago I was accosted by a member of an action committee who, at first, stated that she had no faith in me at all and then appealed to me and the government to make our policy into something trust-inspiring. Then I said: If you do not have any faith in me and us in the first place, then I cannot give it to you. I am not asking for blind faith. It is important that people think along with us and judge with us. We will continuously keep you informed about our actions hoping to receive a mature reaction. You should not only ask: With whom can I find truth? I can only put down a testimony of my intentions."

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## YUGOSLAV AGENT ON MURDERS OF EXILED DISSIDENTS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Aug 83 pp 94-96

[Article: "Like an Angel of Death"]

[Text] A man who is currently in custody in Bavaria is revealing information about murder and terrorism by Yugoslav secret agents in the FRG. The Federal Criminal Police Bureau feels that this case is of "major importance."

When the 37-year-old Josip Majerski was still working as a waiter in Wuerzburg's specialty restaurant "Diokletian," regular patrons said of him that he was nothing more than "a helper." "He carries dishes, clears tables and does similar things," because, "after all, he cannot see very well."

His colleagues remember that he often used "Red slogans" in Balkan restaurants in Munich and Stuttgart. They also disliked the fact that Josip had a tendency to pour himself a drink now and then. Nevertheless, neither the slivovitz nor the thick glasses he was wearing dimmed Josip's view. The near-sighted man kept his eyes on the guests at all times. Many people who are living in Yugoslav colonies in southern Germany are convinced that Majerski had spied on his countrymen. "After all," his countrymen say, "he is a member of the Red organization."

Since last week exiled Croats in the FRG can assume that their suspicions were justified: Majerski is in a Bavarian jail and he is confessing to many crimes which he committed by order of the Yugoslav secret service. His testimony is so spectacular that the case was kept a secret for weeks in Munich and in Bonn.

Since 21 July a warrant for the arrest of Majerski has been in effect issued by the Bavarian Supreme Court on "suspicion of activities for an intelligence agency." But he had already turned himself in on 7 July to the police in Wuerzburg. It is said that it was voluntary. The minutes of the interrogation describe a series of bloody political crimes: accordingly, Yugoslavia's secret police, "Sluzba Drzavne Bezbednosti," better known under its former name of "Udba," and the militant exiled Yugoslavs in the FRG have been engaged for decades in an underground war with terrorist acts and assassinations.

To some extent these clashes have been visible for a long time. But because both sides are always trying to blame the other side for bloody incidents, West German national security agents look on the Yugoslav scene as one of the gray areas of politically motivated violent crimes.

In about half a dozen cases, Majerski claims to have spied on the victims, determining their habits before the assassinations. According to the latest information he is also considered one of the agents who played a major role in the transport of explosives, for instance, from Switzerland by way of the FRG to Yugoslavia. He also directed some of the activities. When opponents of the Belgrade regime were kidnapped from the FRG, he allegedly played the role of the decoy.

If Majerski's stories are true, the Federal Criminal Police Bureau was able for the first time to get its hands on a key witness for a series of mysterious crimes ordered by the Udba. One of the agents of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau said: "As far as we are concerned, the case is of major importance."

Majerski is the son of a Serb and a Croat soldier. In 1970 he entered the FRG as a guest worker. One year later, when many supporters of the "Croat Spring" fled to the West following Tito's purge, the trained textile technician also called himself a refugee. In 1974 he was granted political asylum in the FRG--the fact that he was also in possession of a Yugoslav diplomatic passport was not known to German authorities.

Josip Majerski looked for confidants in many immigrant circles. The double agent landed with a "Republican Party" of exiled Croats which had its main seat in Argentina and which had at most 10 members in the FRG. When the Croats gather for meetings, for instance, on the national holiday, the 10th of April, or at funeral services for people who had been shot to death, he liked to pretend that he was a radical.

"He was one of the greatest activists when he come to demonstrations," a Croat journalist in Munich remembers, "not only in the FRG but also in Sweden and France." There must have been a sponsor who paid for these trips. Every now and then Majerski flew to Miami and visited a Croat ex-colonel who maintains good connections to exiled Cubans.

Between his trips the alleged Tito enemy pretended to be a dish carrier in Cevapcici restaurants and offered his services as an informer to the Bavarian police. Frequently he had excuses from Yugoslav doctors to get away from tiring restaurant jobs, "for rheumatism," for instance. And whenever he was not able to earn anything, he fell back on his assets: Sources in Canada and the United States contributed DM 2,000 per month via branches of the Bavarian Savings and Loan Association.

Fellow waiters who had an opportunity to look into his wallet are now saying that they suspected right away that the uncle in America was Udba. And allegedly Majerski whispered to a friend of his wife's, who during all those

years was traveling with her two children between the Main and the Adriatic without being bothered, that nobody must know about it, but he was really working for Belgrade.

Unfortunately Majerski lost his notebook somewhere with a lot of telephone numbers. It contained direct-dial numbers of state agencies in Zagreb, for instance; he had also written down coded contact routes to liaison agents in Nuernberg and Freiburg—which possibly contributed to his exposure at a later date.

According to reconstructions by national security agents, the waiter Majerski who had been dispensable at any time was a leading force in a group of approximately 50 Yugoslavs in the FRG which is being directed by the Udba-Dependence in Zagreb. As a consequence, his tasks varied greatly. As a key witness, for instance, Majerski testified against a countryman who was being tried in a court in Bavaria for constructing bombs. The verdict was "13 years," but other countrymen, for instance Franjo Goreta, a restaurateur in Saarbrücken, insisted that the bomb had been put together "by Majerski and nobody else": "Only the detonators were original and the remainder consisted of soap or something like it."

In the opinion of all those who knew him, the agent was a master at sowing discord within the scene, with fliers, denunciations and rumors. He played on the fear of the Udba. Mladen Schwarz, an exiled Croat, calls it "Udba-phobia, the typical emigrant disease": "One has no home, no name; distrust is everywhere, everybody sees an agent in everybody."

As a matter of fact, almost every murder in the Croat milieu was preceded by a quarrel and frequently, one of the widows says, Majerski was "something like an angel of death"—he was always in the vicinity. In Frankfurt, 3 years ago, he was allegedly involved when Nicola Milicevic was shot and killed in front of his apartment; the same was true in Cologne, where Jozo Milos bi to death in 1979, or in Duesseldorf, where unknown assailants ambushed the 71-year-old Serb Dusan Sedlar and shot him to death.

When the restaurateur Goreta, who in December 1980 had been the target himself of an unsuccessful assassination attempt, as well as eight Croatian partisans were accused by Belgrade of smuggling a bomb on the "Hellas" Express, the person who had concocted the infernal machine is supposed to have been none other than Majerski—at least, that is the opinion of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau, following a look at the details of the confession of the secret agent.

Allegedly Majerski was also in charge when the writer Vjenceslav Cizek disappeared in 1977 in Saackingen, Baden, and was subsequently held hostage in a villa on Lake Constance. The former secretary of the Bosnian Writer's Guild did not surface until 1978—as a defendant before the state court in Sarajevo, which sentenced him to 15 years in the penitentiary for "counterrevolutionary activities" abroad.



In 1981 a "Croatian Revolutionary Movement (HRP)" attracted a lot of attention in Switzerland. It did not only distribute underground leaflets with instructions on how to make bombs (handwriting: Majerski) but it had also bought 512.5 kilograms of explosives from corrupt explosives dealers as well as weapons and ammunition. The explosive materials found their way into the FRG "in the form of ant traffic" (Federal Criminal Police Bureau jargon), in small portions. The land of destination was Yugoslavia.

But the traffic had been observed. Belgrade had already been warned by Bern and Bonn national security agents when a Croatian religion teacher in Mainz accepted 13 kilograms of these explosives. Gjuro Zagajski stored as much as 44 kilograms in suitcases and tubular containers. It goes without saying that the hint was probably unnecessary, because the couriers were Udba people and according to an investigative report by the Swiss Attorney General's Office, the HRP had been "infiltrated by Udba agents" for quite some time.

Two of the HRP functionaries died in the meantime; they are Stanko Nizic and Zagajski. One of them was shot and killed in Zurich, the other one was beaten to death in Munich. Before his death, Zagajski had told many people about the interesting proof he had gathered on the role of the Udba agent Majerski.

Perhaps the waiter Josip is charged with too many things; his testimony has not yet been concluded. It is also a mystery why Majerski "turned himself in" in Wuerzburg--using the wording of the Justice Department and the police. And, in general, the detectives are "somehow sceptical," at least for the time being. Hermann Ziegenaus, the interrogating officer from the State Criminal Police Bureau has been "racking his brains many times, trying to determine why the man is revealing so much information."

It is not to be expected that Belgrade--as is customary in such cases--will be able to settle the matter through diplomatic channels. In Bonn, CSU Minister of the Interior Freidrich Zimmermann formulates and his state secretary Dieter Spranger explains what must be done: Udba terrorism will have to be stopped once and for all and "decisively."

At any rate, Majerski's confessions might help in clearing up unsolved cases. Joachim Breusch, a spokesman for the Munich court, indicates that enough information is available to prove that "at least three people were killed after Majerski had prepared reports on them."

8991

CSO: 3620/446

## CONFIDENTIAL OIL IMPORT AGREEMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIA DISCLOSED

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 25 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Extended oil agreement, but by pilot light.

Energy Minister Knud Enggaard reported in a confidential note to the Folketing's energy policy committee that Denmark has reached a so-called pilot light agreement with Saudi Arabia on the purchase of 100,000 tons of oil a year, JYDSKE TIDENDE wrote Wednesday.

Knud Enggaard's predecessor in the energy ministry, the Social Democrat Poul Nielson, was the one who made the first agreement on the purchase of Saudi Arabian oil, with the idea of assuring Denmark's supply. The agreement, which was for two years, caused a political uproar against Nielson. In the early stages, he called the agreement the answer. Later it was revealed that the contract with the Saudi Arabian oil minister, Sheik Zaki Yamani, contained a clause that Denmark could not criticize Saudi Arabia. According to JYDSKE TIDENDE, this clause is included in the new agreement, which was called an unchanged standard contract in Enggaard's note.

Formally, the oil is bought by a daughter company of Danish Oil and Natural Gas, DOFAS, which then sells it to Shell. It is the only oil company that has shown interest in buying the Saudi Arabian oil.

The original agreement ran out at the end of 1982, and the energy minister has in this way with almost nine months delay chosen to say yes to the offer Sheik Yamani gave Poul Nielson on the latter's last trip as minister in September of last year.

9124

CSO: 3613/186

## GREENLAND, DENMARK SHARING IN MAINLAND ARGO OIL CONCESSION

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 19-25 Aug 83 pp 1, 12

[Article by Kirsten Mikkelsen]

[Text] Two years of difficult concession negotiations are now coming to an end. Together with a Danish company, the U.S. oil company Arco is ready with money and know-how. Jameson Land in East Greenland has geological similarities to the rich oil areas of Norway and Great Britain in the North Sea. It may contain large oil deposits, which may make Greenland economically independent.

On Tuesday, 13 September, members of the Danish-Greenland Joint Council will be taken by boat from Nuuk-Godthåb to Qorqut to an old Greenland sheep farm, which has now been converted into a hotel. In the words of the chairman, Jonathan Motzfeldt, they will here be locked up to discuss the results of the breakthrough in the negotiations which took place last week in Copenhagen. Here, the Danish Nordic Mining Company and the American oil company Arco, on the one side, and the Raw Materials Administration for Greenland, on the other, have been negotiating concession conditions for 2 years for the oil exploration in Jameson Land in East Greenland, which will require billions of kroner of investment, and which may make Greenland an economically independent oil-producing nation.

The parties have reached an agreement on all questions, including, during the last phase of the negotiations, six-seven items which caused the negotiations to be deadlocked for a long time. The issues involved were, among other things, arbitration, the amounts to be earmarked by the Nordic Mining Company for environmental studies to be decided upon, and the authorities' approval of production plans, if any, including time schedules.

Another important item was taxation. In order for Arco to be able to carry through the scheduled project, which will cost billions of kroner, the company must be certain that it will not have to pay taxes on its incomes, if any, in both Greenland, Denmark, and the United States, which it may risk, unless the fiscal legislation in Greenland and Denmark is arranged expediently. The decisive thing is that the enterprise is taxed in Greenland and Denmark.

The Nordic Mining Company would like to see the negotiations completed by the end of the year, or in the course of next spring, at the latest. The chairman,

Jens Thorsen, director, hopes that, despite delays, caused, among other things, by elections in Greenland, the negotiations may be completed in a satisfactory manner, so that the oil exploration may get well under way as of 1985.

The chief negotiator, Gert Vigh, administrative chief, does not expect the concession to be signed until the spring, at the earliest, perhaps only in June of 1984.

#### Optimism

Poul Ravemies, the top chief of Arco International Oil and Gas Company of the Atlantic Richfield Company group, one of the world's largest oil companies, visited Denmark last week and met Thursday with Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Høyem, who today takes a very optimistic view of the results of the most recent negotiations. They will now be presented to the Joint Council, which will evaluate whether they are satisfactory. The local Greenland parliament will convene on 16 September, immediately after the meeting of the Joint Council. Here, one of the items on the agenda is an account of the concession negotiations from the chairman, Jonathan Motzfeldt. The matter will also be presented to the Danish government and a Folketing committee.

The five members of the Joint Council, appointed by the Greenland home rule government, are Moses Olsen, Jens Lyberth, Arqaluk Lynge, Lars Chemnitz, and Otto Steenholdt. The five Danish members, appointed by Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Høyem, are Ivar Hansen (Liberal Party), Annelise Gotfredsen (Conservative Party), Søren B. Jørgensen (Social Democratic Party), Henning Jensen (Social Democratic Party), and Tage Dræbye (Radical Liberal Party).

When the approval by the Joint Council has been received, the Raw Materials Administration under the leadership of Gert Vigh, chief of administration, will proceed with the final wording of the concession text. The new concession basis --like that of A. P. Møller--will actually be the result of renegotiations, in that the Nordic Mining Company in 1952 was granted an exclusive contract for 50 years for oil and minerals exploration in Greenland.

#### Modern Concession

It will be a question of a concession which will contain all of the principles incorporated in a modern concession model, including stipulations regarding block systems, labor obligations, environmental considerations, the gradual return of areas and public, i.e. state and home rule government participation. Denmark and Greenland's participation in the future consortium will be up to 50 percent.

Arco will become operator and, from the start, the largest participant in the consortium. The share of the Nordic Mining Company will be approximately 15 percent. It consists of the Lauritzen concern as well as other Danish industries and banks. The director of the Nordic Mining Company, Roberto Kayser, says on the concession that "every new concession will become the stiffest in the world."



Under the agreement, the public authorities will receive taxes, excise duties, and incomes as participant. "I do not even know what the percentage for the Danish state will be, but they have taken into account that the oil production, if any, will take place in Greenland, and that the companies must have a reasonable profit margin," Roberto Kayser says.

#### Billions of Kroner of Investments

Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Høyem points out that here--as always when it comes to Greenland political affairs--it is a question of very long perspectives. Only as of 1966 has Denmark been making effective and large-scale investments in Greenland, primarily for the development of the fishing industry. If oil is found, this will inaugurate a new epoch which may make Greenland economically independent.

Initially, investments of approximately 1.5 billion kroner will be required for exploration over a period of 5-8 years. Only then will it be known whether the oil deposits are worth exploiting. The reason why the optimism is great is that Greenland and Norway used to be part of the same land mass, and it, therefore, is likely, from a geological point of view, that oil finds may be made in East Greenland similar to those in the North Sea west of Norway. The director of the Nordic Mining Company hopes that it will be possible to start the seismic tests as early as next year.

The hitherto concession area of the Nordic Mining Company in East Greenland is the size of half of Denmark. The area which the renegotiations concern is considerably smaller. As part of the preparations, a number of environmental, meteorological, geodetic, and geological tests are taking place in the Illoqqortoormiut-Scoresby Sound area. In addition to studies on vegetation, musk ox and birds, the use by the population of the area for whaling, sealing, hunting, and fishing etc., is being studied.

The environment is unique and vulnerable, and the conditions for oil exploration in the arctic area, therefore, are difficult. "We are very anxious not to affect the environment more than absolutely necessary," says Roberto Kayser, "but we have pointed out from the start that it will not be possible to avoid causing a certain extent of minor damage to the area when undertaking such oil exploration. We are agreed with the environmental experts where such damage would be the greatest, and we intend to carry out the exploration in a way that we can justify."

#### To Alaska

Arco has both the money and the necessary arctic experience. The 1982 annual turnover of the oil company was 27 billion dollars, which is equivalent to more than half the Danish gross national product--or five-sixth of the Danish state's total public expenditures. Arco's knowledge on oil exploration and oil extraction in arctic areas stems from projects such as the one in Prudhoe Bay in Alaska, where Arco has had a giant project since 1957.



Together with representatives from the municipal council at Scoresby Sound and representatives from a number of organizations, the members of the Danish-Greenland Joint Council will be traveling to Prudhoe Bay by the end of the year to examine Arco's land-based activities and to get an idea of what the future will be like for the approximately 400 Greenlanders living in the Scoresby Sound area.

Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Høyem will also be going to Alaska and Canada within the near future to study, among other things, the oil, mining and environmental conditions. He has been invited by his Canadian colleague, John Munroe, who will be coming to Copenhagen next Friday to sign an environmental agreement together with Tom Høyem concerning the cooperation between Canada and Denmark on the protection of the marine environment between Greenland and Canada.

#### Supplies and Labor

According to the concession terms, the Nordic Mining Company will endeavor to find Danish and Greenland expertise, where possible, and will be using Danish supplies, provided these are technically and commercially competitive. It, furthermore, appears from the concession terms that Danish and Greenland labor shall be used where feasible. The public authorities will see to it that these requirements are fulfilled, and that detailed information is sent to prospective Danish suppliers.

No Danish firms will be able to carry out the seismic tests, and not very many will be able to undertake drillings on land at a depth of 3 kilometers, but Danish trades and industries may enter into the picture in other areas. Transportation, living quarters and food will have to be provided for approximately 50 people in the area, which today--apart from an air field--is without infrastructure. The area is cold, uninhabited and rough, and there are no roads or paths. Greenland's largest total musk ox population is found here, as well as mountain hares, ermines, and polar bears. The snowy owl and the Greenland falcon have breeding grounds here.

"It will not be a question of any summer job, the people will have to work throughout the year under arctic conditions." The chairman of the local Greenland government and the Danish-Greenland Joint Council, Jonathan Motzfeldt told WEEKENDAVISEN [weekend edition of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE] on the telephone from Nuuk-Godthåb that he finds the project exciting, but it is of vital importance that it be carried out in concert with the local population and the local authorities in Scoresby Sound. They will have to participate in the decision-making process.

Large quantities of oil will be of invaluable importance for the Greenland economy. Prior to the start of an actual production phase in the nineties, as much as 100 billion kroner may have been invested in the project. The production phase will last 20-30 years, depending on the amount of oil and gas. But money is not everything.

"We would like to find ways of protecting the environment," Jonathan Motzfeldt says. "The Scoresby Sound population has no other means of subsistence than sealing. That must not be destroyed. The area is very sensitive to environmental pollution."

The head of the local Greenland government is very wary of using the word optimistic. "Some people were optimistic in connection with the off-shore drillings west of Greenland, but the results were negative." Motzfeldt goes on to say, "However, in Jameson Land are geological conditions which open up possibilities of further efforts."



Jameson Land in East Greenland--here, musk oxen, snowy hares, ermelines and polar bears are living.

Key:

- |                   |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Greenland      | 3. The Denmark Strait |
| 2. Scoresby Sound | 4. Angmassalik        |

7262

CSO: 3613/188

## BRIEFS

DRASTIC DROP IN IMPORTS FROM NICARAGUA--Copenhagen 17 Aug--Denmark's imports from Nicaragua have fallen drastically since the leftist oriented government replaced the dictator, Somoza. In 1979 Danish imports from Nicaragua amounted to about 55 million kroner, and last year it had fallen to about 8 million kroner. But nothing is being done about the situation. Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal Party) wrote in an answer to Grethe Holmsgard (Socialist Left Party) that the Danish authorities cannot step in in purely business dealings of the importers. [Text] [Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 17 Aug 83 p 15] 9124

CSO: 3613/186

## LAW PROVIDES FOR PRIVATE SECTOR HOUSING INVOLVEMENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 23 Aug 83 pp 1,11

[Text] Ankara—The draft amendment to Law No. 2487 on Public Housing has been prepared. The changes envisioned for the law are aimed at getting the private sector actively involved in the public housing sector.

According to the information obtained, the draft amendment, which was prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Resettlement at the request of the Office of the Prime Minister, says in its preamble that the Public Housing Law must be changed in accordance with measures 440 of the implementation plan for the 1982 program.

According to the changes made, the ministries, a number of private firms—which will be called housing organizations—social security organizations and cooperatives will be able to use the resources of the Public Housing Fund. These organizations will furthermore be able to build public housing units on their own lots as well as lots designated for public housing by the Ministry of Housing and Resettlement.

According to proposals put forth by the Ministry of Housing and Resettlement, 70 percent of the housing units to be built by private firms in lots designated for public housing will meet the social housing standards and the remaining 30 percent will be more luxurious, exceeding these standards.

The draft amendment to the Public Housing Law is expected to be discussed by the Higher Public Housing Council during the next few days.

9588

CSO: 3554/416



## TIME RUNNING OUT FOR UNIONS' COMPLIANCE WITH LAW

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 23 Aug 83 pp 1,7

[Report by Sukran Ketenci]

[Text] It has become virtually impossible to meet the timetable of procedures imposed by the new Unions Law on the unions. The preparation of the work branches charter resulted in the loss of one and a half months and debates about changing provisions which could not be implemented or whose implementation was uncertain caused the loss of another 3 months. Thus, the unions have been left with a very limited time slice of 4 months into which they somehow have to fit their general assembly meetings for endorsing new bylaws, their branch delegate elections in accordance with the new bylaws, their branch general assembly meetings, union general assembly meetings, confederation general assembly meetings and a large number of other procedures envisioned by the law.

According to Provisional Article 1 of the Law No. 2821 on Unions, unions which do not hold their elections at every level in accordance with bylaws complying with the new law and do not complete all other procedures required by the law until 1 January 1984 will be automatically considered dissolved. In order to avoid that fate the unions have drawn up very tight election schedules. A delay of one or two days--for example, as a result of a procedural error or the need to repeat an election or, even worse, failure to get approval for the new bylaws and the subsequent need to prepare a new set of bylaws--may upset all these schedules. In the worst case, a union may face closure.

## Extensions Requested

As a result, efforts have intensified to extend the timetable. An amendment being discussed by the National Security Council focuses on extending the timetable by an addition to the provisional article. Meanwhile, it has been decided to move Turk-Is' general assembly meeting to the last days of December. However, even if the Turk-Is general assembly meeting is held in the last days of December, many unions--particularly former federations--will probably not be able to hold their general assembly meetings and send delegates to the Turk-Is general assembly. Union administrators say that they would consider a great success just holding their general assembly meetings before the end of December and avoid closure, let alone participating in the Turk-Is general assembly. These administrators are hoping that not even the slightest delay will occur in their very tight schedules.

### If Law Amendment is Delayed

The amendment to the Unions Law which clarifies provisions of the law with arguable implementation procedures was approved by the Consultative Assembly in compliance with the wishes of Turk-Is. The amendment is now awaiting the approval of the National Security Council. However, it is reported that the slightest delay or problem on this issue may cause intolerable problems for the unions.

As is known, no solution could be found to the problem of how to convert federations banned by the law into national unions within the confines of the law in effect. Academicians argued that the formula found and implemented by Turk-Is conflicted with the law.

### National Unions

Most of the federations changed their bylaws in this direction in their general assemblies and converted into national unions. If the draft amendment now under consideration does not resolve this problem, the decisions of these general assemblies may remain up in the air. The general assembly meetings that have not been held are pushing the limits of postponement rules. Because an amendment to the law is awaited, no one knows how to modify union bylaws from a perspective of branch delegate elections, work branches that have been modified and federations. The special general assembly meetings were not held on previously announced dates on grounds of having "no quorum." The postponed special general assembly meetings--to modify bylaws--of several large unions are now scheduled to be held in the last days of August and in the first of days of September. If the amendment to the law does not go into effect in one or two days, the unions will assume that the law has been amended and will modify their bylaws blindfolded. Moving on the basis of a law that will go into effect in the future is legally arguable. Then there is the issue of the endorsement of the Ministry of Labor on whether the previously modified bylaws are in compliance with the law. What will happen if the ministry finds some provisions of the modified bylaws in violation of the law and notifies the unions to that effect on a slightly delayed timetable? In that case, it will be impossible for the union concerned to remodel its bylaws--particularly if the objectionable provisions are concerned with elections--and to complete the required formalities in time.

9588

CSO: 3554/417

## LANDLORD LEGISLATORS SEEN AT ROOT OF FAILED LAND REFORM

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 23 Aug 83 pp 1,11

["Observation" column by Ugur Mumcu: "What Reform?"]

[Text] The reform was first formulated as the Land and Agricultural Reform Bill. Then, the term "land" was dropped from the law, and later the legislative assembly endorsed the view that the land holdings of its members cannot be nationalized. Frankly, bravo!

We do not know how such a clause can be envisioned and put into words. The Constitution says:

"Everyone, regardless of his language, race, color, sex, political views, philosophical beliefs and other characteristics, is equal before the law. No person, family, group or class shall be granted privileges."

It is well known that in our country--particularly in our southern and eastern provinces--landowners dominate the political parties. When it is known that sheikhs and large landowners have dominated political developments for years, does not a clause to the effect that "the lands of the members of the legislative assembly cannot be nationalized" mean enlarging the extent of that dominance?

If such a provision is endorsed, landowners who want to keep their lands will be elected to the assembly and will have a position of privilege; that privilege will be strengthened by law.

The Constitution may say:

"No person, family, group or class shall be granted privileges."

But this provision will "grant privileges" to landowner assembly members and the group they constitute. If privileged groups and classes are given further privileges by legislation, "land reform" which has been turned into an "endless fairy tale" by successive governments will really be forced into a dead end.

There are also other provisions in the draft bill blocking land reform. Would not excluding lands tilled by renters or sharecroppers from land reform produce results which may hamper reform? In Turkish there is a saying which means

"knowingly betting against odds." The land owner who wants to exclude his land from reform will immediately rent his land to a sharecropper or will "cheat the law" and show his land as rented or tilled by a sharecropper, and thus the land will be excluded from reform. It is obvious from today that this is what is going to happen. Bets are being placed knowingly against odds.

If you are an assembly deputy, your land cannot be nationalized. If you have rented your land to someone else, your land can still not be nationalized. Then how will the process of nationalization of land and the distribution of that nationalized land to landless peasants--commonly known as "land reform"--take place?

Do not worry: It will not take place.

Let us not get pessimistic just because of these provisions. There is land that can be nationalized. For example, if a landowner in a reform region wants his land to be nationalized, then that land will immediately be nationalized. Thus land reform will be realized. As is seen, the bill contains unusually "democratic provisions."

Introducing another reform, the bill excludes the term "cooperative" from its text completely. From now on, the term "joint stock company" will be substituted for "cooperative." Because, the term "cooperative" supposedly invites concepts like communism. Who knows what we will witness next?

Was not the term "land" dropped from the bill? Yes it was. Was not the term "cooperative" excluded from the text of the bill? Yes it was.

Privileges that members of the legislative assembly want to acquire have always been disliked by the public. No one has yet forgotten the furor over the bill granting salary and supplemental benefit increases to members of the parliament and allowing them to carry diplomatic passports. Given these examples, the endorsement of a provision that "the land of assembly members cannot be nationalized" will not be at all welcome.

Instead of injecting such provisions into the bill, would it not be better if they said, "we do not intend to institute land reform"? What need is there for so much trouble?

9588  
CSO: 3554/416



## SURVEY OF MINERAL RESOURCES, EXPLOITATION FAILURES

Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 20-23 Aug 83

["Mineral Report" by Esfender Korkmaz]

[20 Aug 83 p 6]

[Text] Ataturk said in a speech in 1924: "Mining in Turkey is one of the issues closely linked with the national development movement. In addition to our goal of general industrialization, we must pay constant and special attention to mineral exploration and exploitation to increase our domestic wealth and foreign exchange revenues."

What is happening now in mining, which Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, considered "one of the issues closely linked with the national development movement"? It is sufficient to look briefly at the "Economic Report" submitted by the Ministry of Finance to the Consultative Assembly at the end of 1982 to see the setbacks encountered in the mining sector.

Production declines observed for the past 5 to 6 years in our mines in Anatolia--which Evliya Celebi described as "vast"--are continuing. The production of certain minerals has remained level. Minerals are the raw materials for virtually every product we use and are also our leading energy resource. Since the decline in mineral output has to be compensated for by imports, our foreign exchange resources are also being exhausted.

Iron ore production in 1982 was below that of 1978. Copper and coal output has been declining for the past 5 to 6 years. Mercury production has come to a complete halt. Although Turkey holds more than half the borax reserves in the world, annual borax production has dropped from 1.058 million metric tons in 1978 to 890,000 metric tons today.

Production of phosphates--the raw material for fertilizers--fell by one-third in 1982 compared to the previous year. There have also been declines in the production of zinc.

These adverse developments in the mining sector were lost in the panic arising from "the inflation hurricane" and "the brokers' incident." However, the report submitted by the Ministry of Finance to the Consultative Assembly at the end of 1982 explained this adverse development in the mining sector and stated that there was a 15.2 percent drop in mineral production in 1982.

Table 1. Minerals Which Suffered Production Drops

<u>Mineral</u>	<u>Production</u> (thousand metric tons)		<u>Production Drop</u> (percent)
	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	
Bauxite	445	385	13.6
Copper and cuprite	1,612	1,529	5.2
Zinc oxide	76	57	24.4
Mercury	100	0.2	99.8
Alumina	131	76	42.2
Copper concentrate	74	70	5.2
Zinc concentrate	54	46	14.5
Boron salts	910	890	2.2
Phosphates	35	23	34.0

Source: "Economic Report" by Ministry of Finance

[21 Aug 83 p 6]

[Text] According to officials, there are several reasons for the decline in production of minerals. Sitki Basar, member of the Executive Council of Etibank, explains the decline in the production of certain minerals produced by his group as follows:

"It is a fact that there have been declines in the production of certain minerals. There are several reasons for this. The two leading factors are power cuts and a shortage of trained personnel.

"As a result of power cuts, there were production drops in aluminum in Seydisehir, borax in Kirikhan and ferrochrome in Antalya. Personnel shortages also play a significant role in declines in mineral production. We are unable to replace retiring staff members because the government has virtually frozen the hiring of new personnel. Mineral production has been particularly hurt by the retirement of trained personnel."

The Mining Research Institute [MTA] has been exploring Turkey's mineral resources for a long time. Its assessments show that all of our provinces are rich in minerals. For example, Turkey holds 625 million metric tons of boron reserves out of total proven reserves of 1.205 billion metric tons for the whole world. This mineral was first extracted in Turkey by the French before World War II. Today, our annual boron production is around 900,000 metric tons.

Table 2. World Boron Ore Reserves

<u>Country</u>	<u>Proven reserves</u> (million metric tons)
Turkey	625
United States	340
Soviet Union	150
Argentina	30
Chile	30
All other countries	30
Total world reserves	1,205

Although some of our mines are so unproductive as to make commercial exploitation unfeasible, it is also true that productive and rich mineral beds are not being properly exploited. According to MTA records, of the 59 bauxite beds in Antalya, only two have been exploited intermittently. Uranium mine beds, on the other hand, have been left completely untouched.

Table 3. Proven Uranium Reserves

<u>Province (location)</u>	<u>Amount (metric tons)</u>
Aydin (Kocarli)	500
Aydin (Soke)	100
Canakkale (Ayvacik)	250
Giresun (Sebinkarahisar)	300
Usak (Esme)	510

Our country also has rich reserves of coal, for which we paid 2 billion Turkish liras in 1981 and 9 billion Turkish liras in 1982 to import from abroad. Turkey's proven coal reserves are around 471 million metric tons. Coal reserves that are being exploited today constitute about one-fifth of Turkey's total reserves.

Table 4. Coal Reserves

<u>Province (district)</u>	<u>Operation status</u>
Antalya (Kemer)	Not operated because of access problems
Diyarbakir (Hazro)	Not operated
Kastamonu (Ardavay)	Not operated
Zonguldak (Armutcuk)	Formerly operated
Amasra	Not operated
Kozlu	Currently operated

According to MTA's findings, in addition to these minerals there are also gold reserves in Canakkale's Kirazli region, Izmir's Karsiyaka and Tire regions and Manisa's Salihli district.

[22 Aug 83 p 6]

[Text] According to European literature on the history of mining, the Bronze Age began in Anatolia. The Sumers, the Eti, the Lidians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Seljuks and the Ottomans have all played an important role in the development and exploitation of these mines in the course of history. The Anatolian mines have become the symbol of these states' history of civilization.

The encyclopaedia, "Coal Resources of the World", claims that the Eti civilization in particular owed its strength to the exploitation and the utilization of these mines. According to the same book, the copper mine in Ergani was operated by the Phoenicians 4,000 years ago.

Today we are only left with the ruins and sediments of the furnaces of these ancient civilizations. Several tools used for extracting and processing minerals have been found in mines operated by the Eti.

On the high cliffs of Gumushacikoy, cuneiform tablets have been found explaining how mines should be operated. These tablets are believed to be the world's first mining licenses issued by the Eti king.

Today, there are more mine beds in Turkey which are not operated than those which are. For example, out of a reported 151 iron ore beds in our country only 11 are being operated.

There are 171 coal and lignite beds, both very important for energy production. We are operating only 20 of the coal beds. The situation is not too different in the extraction of asbestos, which is one of the important materials used in the processing of phosphates, the raw material of fertilizers. While some officials have been alleging that these mine beds are not being operated because they are not productive, others say that idle mineral beds are costing Turkey millions of dollars every year.

Table 5. Idle Mine Beds

<u>Mineral</u>	<u>Total reserves</u> <u>(million metric tons)</u>	<u>1982 production</u> <u>(million metric tons)</u>	<u>Known</u> <u>mine beds</u>	<u>Mine beds</u> <u>in operation</u>
Iron	1,083	3.3	151	11
Coal	471	4.2	8	3
Lignite	5,931	17.7	163	17
Phosphates	165	0.039	13	1
[Missing]	4.9	0.122	121	12
Copper and cuprite	140.8	1.5	68	2

Source: "Economic Report" by Ministry of Finance

[23 Aug 83 p 6]

[Text] According to the State Planning Organization, our mineral shortfall will amount to 586.5 billion Turkish liras this year. This figure alone shows how important it is for Turkey to utilize its mine beds. The utilization of mineral resources is also necessary for industrialization and its need will be felt more strongly as industrialization grows.

Table 6. Turkey's Mineral Shortfall (in millions of Turkish liras)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Annual</u> <u>demand</u>	<u>Annual</u> <u>production</u>	<u>Shortfall</u>	<u>Production as</u> <u>percent of demand</u>
1981	728.4	258.5	469.9	35.5
1982	831.4	266.9	564.4	32.1
1983 (est.)	867.3	280.7	586.6	32.4

Source: State Planning Organization



Experts say on this issue: "As is known, the industrial revolution in Europe and the United States in the 18th century was primarily based on mining and minerals. Industrialization cannot happen without minerals. Raw materials as well as energy are dependent on minerals. Even fertilizers, which are vital for agriculture, are made out of phosphates. We can reduce the foreign currency we are spending for oil imports by increasing our coal production. Our country is rich in coal, but we are importing even that. We will be forced to operate the thermal power plants we are building with lignite we will have to import. In Germany, 4 million people are employed in the mining sector. In Turkey, only 100,000 people are working in the mining sector."

According to some estimates, we will have to find an extra \$1.4 billion by 1990 to import coal if we do not increase our production by then. Our pig iron imports will also reach high levels in 10 years.

Currently, our mineral production can only meet 32 percent of our needs; we are forced to import the rest.

Table 7. Turkey's Mineral Imports and Exports

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports</u> <u>(billion Turkish liras)</u>	<u>Exports</u> <u>(billion Turkish liras)</u>	<u>Exports as</u> <u>percent of imports</u>
1980	498	26	5.2
1981	591	29	4.9
1982	615	36	5.9

Source: State Planning Organization

According to MTA, there are rich and precious marble beds in 85 regions in our country. In contrast, there is no marble in most Middle Eastern countries. Thus, marble is reported to have a high export potential. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the mining sector should receive attention as a sector which may help to narrow our foreign trade gap.

However, the current situation is not encouraging at all. Domestic demand for minerals has been rising in our country with the growth and modernization of agriculture and industry. That, in turn, not only hurts our exports, but increases our imports.

Turkey's mineral imports are about 20 times its exports. In 1982, our imports amounted to 615 billion Turkish liras, while our exports totaled only 36 billion Turkish liras. It appears from State Planning Organization reports that this situation will not change significantly in 1983.

Among the minerals we import--apart from petroleum--phosphate rock--used in manufacturing fertilizers--occupies the first rank. Of the 13 existing phosphate rock beds in our country, only one is in operation.

While our mineral exports constitute as little as 5 percent of our imports, it is observed that efforts to improve this situation are inadequate. According to the MTA report, copper and iron have a significant place in our mineral imports.

9588

CSO: 3554/414

## BULGARIAN MACHINERY, ELECTRONICS MINISTER MEETS CANTURK

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Ankara—Bulgaria's Minister of Machine Building and Electronics Toncho Chakurov, who is in Turkey to attend the Izmir Fair as the official guest of the government, had a meeting yesterday with Minister of Commerce Kemal Canturk. Chakurov declared that Turkish-Bulgarian relations and economic cooperation are expanding.

Stating that there are extensive opportunities for cooperation between Turkey and Bulgaria, Chakurov said: "I could not say that I am satisfied with the present level of trade. Because there are more extensive opportunities and I think we can expand our trade."

Stating that he "fully agrees" with Chakurov, Minister of Commerce Canturk said: "Our goal is to cooperate extensively in every economic field with our friend and neighbor, Bulgaria. Everything is being done to attain this goal. But since such relations, by their very nature, develop very slowly, we have not yet reached a satisfactory stage as the honorable minister stated himself. But we believe that we will be able to reap the fruits of our economic relations in the near future."

Canturk also said that all aspects of economic relations between the two countries were reviewed during the meeting between the two ministers.

Chakurov will tour Izmir after leaving Ankara and later he will go on to Istanbul on his way back to his country.

Meanwhile, according to the protocol signed at the 8th session of the Turkish-Bulgarian Joint Economic and Technical Cooperation Commission which met in Ankara between 9 and 12 May 1983, the meeting of the Turkish-Bulgarian Permanent Working Group, which serves under the guidance of the commerce and industry chambers of the two countries, will continue until 26 August.

In a speech at the opening of the meeting, Turkish Union of Chambers Deputy President Izzet Ozilhan said that the volume of trade between the two countries is inadequate.

Stating that the trade balance between the two countries has always been unfavorable for Turkey, Ozilhan said: "The deficit has dropped from \$123.2

million in 1980 to \$47.6 million in 1981 and to \$42.8 million in 1982. Turkey has run a deficit of \$26 million in the first 5 months of 1983 [in its trade with Bulgaria]. We hope that our trade volume will increase and balanced trade relations will continue through efforts by both sides "

Deputy President of the Bulgarian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, (Tzcetan) Petkov, who is heading the Bulgarian delegation, said in his speech that relations between the two countries have undergone important developments in recent years.

9588

CSO: 3554/416

## AUTHOR ARNE PETERSEN DISCUSSES TIES WITH PEACE GROUPS, USSR

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 Aug 83 Sect II pp 1, 2

[Article by Mogens Auning]

[Text] Author Arne Herlov Petersen, who was accused of influencing Danish opinion on behalf of the Soviet Embassy, is surprised that he suddenly has become a person of international renown--for example, in a major article in the NEW YORK TIMES, which BERLINGSKE TIDENDE reprinted 2 weeks ago.

Arne Herlov Petersen, the author from Langeland, had charges against him dropped last April by Justice Minister Ole Espersen, although the minister stated that, in principle, Herlov Petersen's relationships with several Soviet diplomats were subject to prosecution as assistance to a foreign intelligence service. Now Petersen is surprised.

He suddenly has become a person of international renown.

"The old case that no longer was of any interest here at home suddenly became a topic of interest to foreign newspapers and magazines," he said in a conversation with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. The NEW YORK TIMES ran an article that was reprinted in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE on 31 July. In it Herlov Petersen was linked to KGB efforts to use the peace movement in Western Europe in the battle against deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles.

Herlov Petersen said that "certain circles" were using the case, which in November 1981 led to the expulsion of Deputy Secretary Vladimir Merkulov of the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen and the arrest of Arne Herlov Petersen, to prove that the Soviet intelligence agency KGB was infiltrating the Danish peace movement.

"Foreign newspapers have described me as a prominent member of the Danish peace movement and even as chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Peace and Security. Of course, I support peace, but I am not a member of the Coordinating Committee. Well, I do send them contributions of 50 kroner now and again, but that is it."

On 4 November 1981 the Police Intelligence Service (PET) arrested Arne Herlov



Petersen and his wife Inger Gorm Knudsen at the couple's home in Tryggelev on Langeland. He was accused of being an agent for the Russians since 1970. The police did not call for his imprisonment, but simply held him for 72 hours, while his home was searched. His wife was released, but could neither go home nor leave Langeland.

The accusations against the author stated that, at the request of his Russian friends, he had attempted to influence Danish opinion in favor of Soviet foreign policy. That had occurred, it was said, through letters to newspapers, articles, and other printed matter. In addition, he was supposed to have received money from the subsequently expelled Merkulov for running ads in LAND OG FOLK and INFORMATION, in which over 100 Danish artists called for a Nordic nuclear-free zone. There also was talk about a forged letter, written at the Soviet Embassy on Kristianiagade in Copenhagen that was to be sent to the North Korean Embassy in Copenhagen. Supposedly, the purpose was to harm relations between North Korea and China.

He also was accused of receiving presents from his Russian friends, making contacts in a "secret manner," and receiving trips to the Soviet Union and promises that he and his family would be evacuated to Moscow if there was danger of war.

On 17 April 1982, then Justice Minister Ole Espersen announced that charges against Arne Herlov Petersen would be dropped, "even though it must be assumed that Arne Herlov Petersen, in principle, has acted contrary to paragraph 108 of the penal code."

This paragraph states that, "Anyone acting in such a way that a foreign intelligence service is enabled or helped indirectly or directly to operate within the jurisdiction of the Danish state will be punished by imprisonment of up to 6 years."

In an explanation the minister said that, "After a joint evaluation of all the available evidence, it was not found that Danish interests had been damaged to such a degree that formal charges were necessary."

Petersen was asked about the charges of influencing Danish opinion on behalf of the Soviet Union.

"That is pure nonsense. I have attempted to influence the people with everything I have written over the years, but not on behalf of the Soviet Union. I am capable of thinking for myself and I [illegible] with the Soviet Union. I am not a communist. Over the past 14 years I have belonged to three left-wing parties: the Danish Socialist Party, which later merged with SF (Socialist People's Party), and from 1967 to 1969 I was a member of VS (Left-Socialist Party). I withdrew because of internal splits within the party."

"I believe the left wing is already splintered enough. I decided that if I was going to work politically, it would be to unite the left wing."

Instead of working in party politics, Petersen prefers to work with ad hoc committees: on pollution from nuclear power plants, EC membership, solidarity committees with underdeveloped countries, etc.

"I do not see this as criminal activity. I am exercising the democratic rights I have--or should have--in this regard," he said.

#### Friends At Soviet Embassy

"Several years ago the police became aware of some unusual relationships between you and various diplomats at the Soviet Embassy."

"It is true that I have had good friends at the embassy. They have visited me here in Tryggelev and I have visited them in Copenhagen. Meeting people from other countries promotes understanding in the world."

"I also know many Americans. I went to school in the United States."

"How did you meet the Russians?"

"That is difficult to say. I met them at a reception. It was interesting discussing things with them."

The Russian diplomats with whom Petersen was in contact were Leonid A. Makarov, who left Denmark in 1973 and who, according to reports in Norwegian newspapers last year, held the rank of colonel and was head of the KGB in Norway, Stanislav J. Chebotok, who left Denmark in 1975 when the government was considering expelling him, his successor Vladimir Chornii, who was recalled to the Soviet Union due to illness, and finally Vladimir Merkulov, whose activities and relationship with Petersen led to his expulsion in 1981.

"It has been said that the Russians considered it extremely important that your contacts remain secret."

"That is pure nonsense. I sent them an open postcard and told them when I was coming to Copenhagen. Then we met. There never has been any question of secrecy."

"You were not permitted to call the embassy?"

"I was told that private calls to the embassy were discouraged. This is why I sent postcards."

"PET claimed you had a secret procedure for calling meetings. You were not permitted to call from your own telephone."

"I was told that during the questioning. They said I called from a telephone booth here on this street. I said that was true, but this was not a secret procedure. At that time my telephone was cut off because I had not paid my bill."

"And meetings on deserted highways?"

"That also came up in the questioning. The fact is that my wife and I were going to a birthday party in Svendborg on 1 August 1981. At that same time, Merkulov was going to Svendborg for a speaking engagement. We met him by chance at the bus stop and he gave us a ride."

It is a relatively long distance by Danish standards from Copenhagen to Tryggelev. It is almost 150 km by car, plus 1.5 hours by boat from Korsor to Lohals. Nevertheless, his Russian friends often visited Petersen and his family for parties. They brought gifts such as alcohol and tobacco.

"They enjoyed being here. And they liked to drink. When the Russians party, they really party."

#### Fishing Trip

"One time when Chebotok visited us, he said that a car had followed him the entire way. This did not upset him, because he was used to it. He really liked to fish. I showed him a place near here and he pulled out his fishing rod. When he came back I asked him if he had caught anything. He said he had caught three suckers: two in a car near the harbor and one standing guard here by the road."

"Were not these Russians what they call 'command officers'--the ones who suggest what you should write in your letters to the editors of newspapers, for example?"

"That is pure nonsense. I do not need anyone to formulate my ideas. When we were together, we discussed many topics. We disagreed on many topics. It often ended in an argument."

"I have written a lot over the years. I started writing for the newspaper SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN when I was 12 years old. I write only what I want to write. If the Russians had attempted to influence me, it would have made me angry."

Ole Espersen's account of these events, made in connection with the dismissal of charges against Petersen, stated that the diplomats used or attempted to use Petersen to provide information on the Danish left and on "progressive" Danish journalists.

"It could well be that during the course of a conversation I was asked whether or not I knew some journalist or another. But this was not a question of filing some kind of report. If it is illegal to say whether or not I know someone, then it is illegal for me to talk with other people."

## Peace Ad

The last straw in the case of Merkulov, which led to his expulsion, was the claim that he, via Petersen, on behalf of the embassy, had financed an ad for a Nordic nuclear-free zone, accompanied by a drive to collect signatures for the ad and a report to the embassy on the progress of this project.

Petersen strongly denied this assertion. There had been a conference in Aalborg about a Nordic nuclear-free zone. Afterward, Petersen's wife suggested that he take the initiative in this matter.

"I called various people I knew and we decided to get the names of 181 artists who would sign an appeal to be printed in LAND OG FOLK and INFORMATION. Several refused to participate when they heard the ad would be run in LAND OG FOLK."

"We received not 1 ore from the Russians. Lise Munk Plum helped us. But as of today, LAND OG FOLK has received nothing for the ad. I had to pay 1,000 kroner out of my own pocket for the ad in INFORMATION. It is ridiculous to claim that the Russians were involved in this."

Petersen also denied having given the North Korean Embassy a letter, written at the Soviet Embassy, but supposedly coming from an American journalist. It contained information intended to harm relations between North Korea and China.

"This claim is remarkable," Petersen said. "I do not understand it. I still have good relations with the North Koreans. I do translations for them from time to time. They also offered to support me if my case came to trial."

## Submarine In Village Pond

"Did your Russian friends offer to evacuate you to the Soviet Union if war were threatening?"

"That particular charge is grotesque. I believe it comes from a bugged telephone conversation with my mother-in-law. There was a tense situation somewhere in the world and she called me expressing fear of a new war. I said jokingly that a Russian submarine probably would sail into our bird sanctuary in Trygvelev and take us away. Just imagine taking that statement seriously!"

"Have you ever been in the Soviet Union? You were accused of receiving free trips from the embassy."

"In 1974 I was over there on tour and wrote a travel book called 'Golden October'. I was invited by the press bureau APN and not by the embassy. It could well be that Chebotok had put in a good word for me. By the way, the book is not uncritical."



Former Justice Minister Ole Espersen's report on the case stated that Petersen had received money from the embassy to cover a number of expenses, including printing costs for a pamphlet he had written on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and that the embassy had supplied the text.

"I received no money from the embassy for that," Petersen said. "I had written a long article on Margaret Thatcher. I had it printed after receiving money from the State Fund for the Arts. I published it myself. It was too long to be picked up by any of the newspapers."

#### Charges Dropped

Arne Herlov Petersen believes that the whole case against him was "nonsense," that in reality someone was playing a joke on PET.

"Some home guardsman probably got angry when he kept seeing cars from the diplomatic corps at my house and turned in an exaggerated report."

When Petersen was taken into custody, the police confiscated his diaries, which they said contained compromising material.

"They gave me my diaries back, but no one questioned me on the alleged compromising material in them."

When the case was closed by dropping the charges, Petersen said it was because Ole Espersen wanted to spare then Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen from a painful trial. The afternoon following the morning arrest of Petersen, the foreign minister described him on the TV news as a spy. The minister also linked the KGB to the peace movement. Petersen believes that at that point Kjeld Olesen acted contrary to the constitution and to the Administration of Justice Act by condemning him even before the preliminary questioning. He considered bringing suit in the matter, but gave up the idea because the authorities refused to hand over the pertinent documents to his lawyer, Jan Schultz-Lorentzen.

Petersen believes that the entire case was an attempt to discredit the peace movement and to show that it had been infiltrated by the KGB.

"If I am the best evidence of KGB infiltration into the movement, then the KGB has not infiltrated it."

"Is the case closed now--for good?"

"I think so. I have not heard anything more or seen PET."

"Do you still see the Russians?"

"No, but now I am seeing some Americans."

"Have you been told that your telephone is no longer bugged?"

"No."

Paragraph 787, article 6, states the following: "If telephone conversations over a privately owned telephone have been recorded, the court shall inform the owner of the telephone, if this can occur without damaging the investigation and if no other considerations indicate that this would be unsuitable."

9336

CSO: 3613/184

**RADICAL FOLKETING MEMBER: RELATIONS WITH EC 'ALMOST HOPELESS'**

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 29 Aug 83 p 4

[Commentary by Holger K. Nielsen, Socialist People's Party, member of the Folketing Commerce Committee: "Delaying Tactics Against Greenland's Withdrawal From the EC"]

[Text] The EC Commission's squeeze on Denmark on the fishery issue makes Greenland's situation almost hopeless.

In the referendum of '72 on membership in the EC there was a clear majority in Greenland against membership. Greenland is not a part of Europe, and it was natural that with the introduction of the new Home Government a new, guiding referendum should be held. This took place on 23 February of last year and the result was clear. About 52 percent voted no to the EC, while 46 percent voted yes.

Developments since then have, however, created a number of difficulties for Greenland's withdrawal. They are difficulties which have shown the worst side of the EC. Bureaucratic delaying tactics and primitive power politics have been the EC answer to a little people's desire to leave an association to which it does not belong, and does not want to belong.

The difficulties are primarily due to the Danish government. Actually it is my impression that the government, and especially Uffe Ellemann, has tried very hard to defend Greenland's interests. There is an exception (to which I shall return), but the main problem is that the cynical power politicians in the EC are completely without understanding for the Greenlanders' desire to withdraw, at the same time as Greenland has become a chip in the poker game of EC fishing policy.

**EC Delays**

On 25 May last year the Danish Government presented the EC with Greenland's desire to withdraw effective 1 January 1984, and at the same time there was an expression of desire for a so-called OLT arrangement for Greenland. OLT

stands for Overseas Lands and Territories, and is a special arrangement made by a number of countries between the EC and some of the member countries former colonies.

In the present OLT arrangement there are a number of customs advantages plus different forms of development aid, but there is no mention of fishing rights for EC countries.

The government developed a timetable for the very complicated negotiating procedure whereby they could complete the EC negotiations by 1 January of this year. The first step was that the EC Commission would make a statement on Greenland's desire to withdraw. The government pushed this during the entire past autumn, but the commission did not get together on a statement until 24 February this year. The EC Parliament made its statement in May. At the very beginning the time limit was already exceeded.

One can guess about the commission's motives for the delaying tactics. One of them is undoubtedly the desire to wait for a possible voting shift in connection with the Greenland Landsting in April. In case of an election victory by the party favoring adherence to EC, Attasut, it could be possible to renegotiate the issue. But the election resulted in a victory for the parties opposed to EC, so the tasteless speculation by the EC Commission on internal Greenland affairs did not succeed.

#### Fishing Policies

The commission took a positive approach toward Greenland's withdrawal, but at the same time maintained a close connection between Greenland's status as an OLT country and retention of EC fishing interests in Greenland waters. As mentioned above, there is no basis in the OLT discussions for such linkage, but the commission desired to look after fishing interests, which are especially related to the German high seas fleet.

It is mainly owned by multinational capital. Especially the giant Dutch firm Unilever has large capital interests in the high seas fleet, which does not play a dominant role in the overall German economy. But the high seas fleet is claimed to be totally dependent on fishing off Greenland, which is the reason why the German Government has taken such strong steps to defend the interests of the high seas fleet.

The conflict last year over allocating 5,000 tons of cod to the Germans off west Greenland was in itself comparatively unimportant for the Germans. More important for them is to be able to claim so-called "historical rights" so that fishing can be assured in the future. And it is the assurance of future fishing rights which is the background of the German attempt to link Greenland's withdrawal efforts to fishing negotiations.

The Greenland Government does not reject the principle that the Germans can get permission to fish, but it is essential to the Greenlanders that they must decide the conditions of the fishing.



Greenland is entirely dependent on natural resources, and within defensible biological limits they must have full rights to the catch. If, however, there is a "surplus" of fish, it would be natural to "sell" them—for example in the form of fishing licenses. But it is maintained that we are talking about Greenland's fish.

#### Denmark in a Squeeze

It is therefore important in connection with Greenland's withdrawal from the EC that permanent fishing rights not be allocated to other EC countries. This is, however, made difficult by the cod agreement which was reached with the Germans last year, and because Denmark is in a squeeze in the general fishing negotiations.

It caused surprise in a number of places last year when the Greenland Government, apparently without great coercion, granted the Germans' request for 5,000 tons of cod off west Greenland, and also that there would be no obligation to land some of the fish for Greenland's processing factories.

The Greenland Government was in a difficult situation, because Greenland fishing in 1982 was less than expected due to a hard winter. It was probably decisive that the Danish Government guaranteed that the German fishing would be a temporary "loan" from the Greenland quota. In other words it would not prejudice later German fishing off Greenland.

So it caused surprise when it was learned that the Germans doggedly continued fishing far into 1983. And the surprise did not become less that the government's ability to stop the fishing is apparently illusory.

The Germans have never accepted that they are fishing on a Greenland quota. For the Greenlanders this entirely decisive point was exclusively a Danish interpretation of the agreement. And what is worse, the EC Commission supported the German interpretation. In an internal memorandum from the director general for fishing to Fishing Commissioner Contogeorgis (referred to in EXTRA BLADET 12 July) which came from the days just after the date of the agreement, it was made as clear as possible that according to the understanding of the commission it is a matter of Germans fishing on a German quota. In EC fishing policy the commission has a very strong voice, so it is very important what the commission thinks.

Therefore Denmark stands alone with the position that the Germans took cod from the Greenland quota. Therefore the Germans can continue to fish with the knowledge that the agreement last year (in connection with the so-called rollover arrangement for fishing in '83) gives them a right to fish "legally" knowing that the EC Court will side with them. That strengthens their claim that "historical rights" allow them permanent fishing rights after Greenland's withdrawal negotiations and the general fishing negotiations.

Denmark is here in an almost hopeless, isolated position, which was finally expressed by the commission's quota recommendation for North Sea herring, in which Denmark was allocated 9 percent, compared with a historic share of about 40 percent. The minister of fisheries called that "an insulting proposal." Yes, but insults from the commission on fisheries questions have now become normal. Can anyone remember a proposal which has not been an insult to Denmark?

The Danish isolation limits maneuvering room, and it will be a goal of maneuvering tactics to come out of isolation. One method could be to give in to the German claim for permanent fishing rights in exchange for Greenland's withdrawal from the EC.

That thought must be behind Liberal Party member Svend Heiselberg's claim--directly contrary to the government's official position--that the German fishing is definitely legal. It is obvious that the wrong conclusion can be drawn that one can just as well give way totally and accept the Germans' claim for permanent fishing rights, in order to be sure of greater goodwill with the Germans and the EC Commission.

I continue to believe that the government will continue to defend the interests of Greenland. But the situation is almost hopeless. Because Denmark's situation in the EC is becoming more difficult--it is a hard thing for a small country to fight with its back against the wall against the power apparatus of the EC. And it is tragic when the losers are the people of Greenland.

9287  
CSO: 3613/196

MINISTER SAYS DANISH WORKERS RELUCTANT TO GO TO GREENLAND

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 28 Aug 83 p 13

[Article by sol: "Danish Workers Uneasy About Working in Greenland"]

[Text] Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Hoyem said that uneasiness felt by Danish workers about working in Greenland is growing. And even though Greenland authorities for over 5 years have wanted to halve the number of Danes employed in Greenland, many work tasks can still only be filled by Danish manpower because there is still a lack of trained Greenland manpower.

This came from a reply from the minister for Greenland affairs to Folketing member Birgith Mogensen (Center Democrat). Tom Hoyem said further that it is still too early to estimate how many Greenlanders in 5 years have been sufficiently trained and prepared to take over the positions which are today occupied by Danes.

"It should not be forgotten, however, that the manpower which has been sent out for years has known that they are carrying out a great and conscientious work for the benefit of all the people of Greenland," said the minister, and added, "Furthermore it is my opinion that Danish uneasiness about working in Greenland is growing."

The categories of positions which primarily fall under the law for Greenland manpower are:

1. Positions for nonprofessional workers.
2. Positions requiring trade and office training.
3. Positions in the transportation area.
4. Social educators.

9287

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## EUROMISSILES INITIATIVE SEEN PART OF 'PRODIGAL ALLY' ROLE

## 'Belittled' Relations With NATO

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 28-29 Aug 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Nik. E. Simos]

[Text] Political circles are calling the Greek Government's initiative to the unqualified EEC, rather than the appropriate NATO, for the installation of missiles in Europe to be postponed six months a gesture of good will to the Soviet side. The same circles are connecting this sudden initiative and the visit a few days ago of Soviet Ambassador Kaboskin to Prime Minister A. Papandreou who, according to a related communique, briefed him on the missiles issue. More specifically, it is maintained that the Greek Government's proposal should be viewed within the framework of its effort to make it appear that Greece is following an independent line on the Euromissiles issue and is not influenced by any of the allies' reactions, to which the government is seemingly indifferent.

## Satisfied Soviet Side

In addition, the fact that the Soviet side seems to consider the Greek policy consistent is indicative of its satisfaction with Greece's position on the missiles issue thus far.

Moreover, it should be remembered that the Soviet reaction to the signing of the bases agreement was rather lukewarm despite the fact that the Soviet side, according to responsible information, tried to suggest to the Greek Government that it avoid signing the agreement. This Soviet stance towards the Greek-U.S. agreement showed, on the one hand, that the USSR accepted the Greek Government's assertion that removal of the bases is not an easy matter--but it does not stop hoping--and, on the other, that it considers the Greek position on the missiles issue more important at the moment than the bases for its power. At any rate, the fact that a NATO member country has a position different from the aggregate confrontation of this issue by the rest of the alliance is a reinforcement of Soviet positions.

Characteristic of the Greek Government's desire to appear agreeable to the Soviet side is the fact that the initiative was decided and expressed personally by the prime minister. The employment of such covert diplomacy, which evidently is applied on other important foreign policy issues--proof is the direct access to Kastri of



the two superpowers' ambassadors, without the presence of the prime minister's collaborators--is probably a risky practice. This is because it does not combine the political will with the indispensable informing about taking the necessary decision, for the sake of the best possible outcome for national interests.

#### The 'Prodigal Ally' Role

These verifications of political circles are characterized as especially serious from the moment it is likely that the stance towards the Soviet side is what weighs even more on the scales than the "domestic consumption" policy or satisfying the KKE in order for the government to protect its rear.

Diplomatic circles noted, in addition, that the Greek Government is facilitated in these initiatives by the complete downgrading of our relations with NATO on every level.

One more reason why the government continues to play the safe role of the "prodigal ally" is its conviction that, as a member of the Community, it is protected proportionately and this, in its opinion, allows it to overdo, even in how it perceives the multidimensional policy. From another side, the government is exploiting the fact that NATO would not wish to "punish" its member country for deviating from basic allied principles or for "internal opposition" to the alliance. This is because such an action would be an acknowledgement of operational or other very fundamental weaknesses in the Atlantic Alliance in a period in which its cohesiveness, in comparison to the eastern alliance, is considered a little more indispensable.

#### Balance and Deviations

After the untested Greek initiative, the question which emerges--according to estimates of diplomatic circles--is whether the Greek Government's policy is really maintaining an objective balance, or is showing frequent deviations which destroy such an assertion for it. In such a case, the opinion of western circles is confirmed, that given this Greek policy within NATO, the Soviet side by no means would wish for Greece to depart from the western alliance when it is creating problems for it which strengthen Soviet positions.

In addition, the Greek prime minister's desire to constantly be in the political limelight makes him frequently offer his objections on basic issues in the alliance, thus calling into question NATO's authority and cohesiveness. The Greek prime minister's latest initiative has downgraded the Greek Government's credibility (seven countries have rejected the Greek proposal so far) and at the same time limited the role which our country could play on the international political scene, where an increased mobility is being observed at present; when, in fact, the EEC Presidency could lend an increased prestige to any serious and considered Greek initiative.

The most serious danger in the long term, however, is that unsuccessful actions or methodized contrariety in the foreign policy--for the sake of sensationalism or a display of non-existent strength--on the one hand neutralize opportunities for parity and active intervention which a small country could lay claim to. On the other, they weaken the country's prestige, because in international diplomacy and foreign policy, no one is forgetful.

## Karamanlis' Consent Doubted

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 28-29 Aug 83 p 9

[Text] To continue with the things reported above in the first article in the column in relation to the Greek initiative on the Euromissiles, it would be useful to examine certain other wrinkles. Even if the initiative has already fallen flat, as had been predicted--unfortunately in a tone not at all in agreement with the rules of diplomatic courteousness--by the U.S. undersecretary of state, in the most intense verbal demarche to our ambassador in Washington.

Instead of making publicly known opinions of European politicians who support our proposal but who happen to not exercise governmental power, or whose country is not directly interested, the government must now hasten to give specific answers to a series of questions about this matter, and they are:

1. Why did it undertake the initiative, and at the suggestion of which government official or organ did it undertake it?
2. Why did it go ahead and express this initiative without any sounding of our EEC partners' reactions, as has been shown by all their reactions, except for France which is occupied with developments in Chad?
3. Why did it hasten to publicize its initiative, thus causing the governments of the member countries not only to take a public position themselves, but also to express their displeasure and surprise about the Greek proposal?
4. In view of the clear constitutional limits on the exercise of governmental power, did the government take care to ensure the indispensable prerequisites for its smooth cooperation with the regulator of the state, Mr. Karamanlis, prerequisites which could be covered at a minimum with an advance briefing of the president?

The more, as the days pass, the damage to our government from the governmental initiative is clearly shown, the more is the conviction built that the government not only did not come to any previous understanding with the governments of the EEC member countries, but also did not confer with the president of the republic about expressing its proposal.

If the opposite were true, it is certain that the president's political experience would be able to prevent the expression of a forced, at the least, initiative which, it was certain in advance, would fall flat and would jeopardize the country's prestige.

9247

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POLITICAL

GREECE

COUNTRY FEARED ENGULFED IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ATTACKS

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 24 Aug 83 p 1

[Editorial by "G.D.L."]

[Text] Greek public opinion does not care what side, what group or what faction assassinated the Palestinian.

It does care, however, about the fact that the assassination occurred here in Greece.

It does care about the fact that, with the tolerance of the government and security services, a tolerance which reaches the point of turning a blind eye, wonderworks are happening in our country in the name of the Palestinian affair and "brother" Arafat.

It is time now for some order, for terrorist organizations of every kind to stop thrashing the country. The organizations which, in the name of some ambiguous ideological or political purpose, use Greece as a base of assault and to settle their accounts with the tolerance, if not the blessings, of the party-state.

Because soon we will see with "pride" all the "liberation" movements of every kind from Africa, Central America, and the Far East gathering here and solving their accounts in the streets of Athens. Always, of course, in the name of the "brotherly" ties which bind them to PASOK and, through this, to Moscow.

It is time, gentlemen of the government, to free us from this nightmare.

If you were a little more interested in the movements of such men--"innocent businessmen"--and less in our own, perhaps things would be better and the possibilities then of us eating some stray bullet would be much reduced.

Think about it before it is too late.

92-7

CSO: 3521/432

## GOVERNMENT STUDIES ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR 1985 ELECTIONS

Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS 14 Aug 83 p 7

/Article by Mikh. Dimitriou/

/Text/ The so-called "electoral law," one of the main pathological elements of Greek political life, is constantly returning to the forefront like the "motivo" from Ravel's "Bolero".

The holding of elections before the end of the parliamentary term, a frequent occurrence, as well as the questions raised by the system of the electoral law, not only feed the political literature but become also a cause for the instability of the political system.

The historical precedent, both from the previous early dissolutions of the Chamber of Deputies and from the adjustment of the electoral system to the partisan interests, works for those who raise these two issues from time to time.

The exceptions, such as the case of the previous Chamber of Deputies, simply reaffirm the rule.

With the statements of the ND, the explanations of the government spokesman, the speech in LEFKADA of the KKE-Int. Secretary General G. Baniyas, and the constant publicity given by RIZOSPASTIS to the issue of the electoral law, the old familiar scenario is repeated:

- a. The government will reveal its intentions on the electoral law shortly before the election.
- b. The current electoral system, although voted by the two major post-dictatorial parties (ND and the Democratic Center Union /EDIK/), is acceptable today only to the Right opposition.
- c. All the other parties and progressive political movements consider imperative that a permanent electoral system be enacted and the system should be that of simple proportional.

From another point of view things are simpler. Only the New Democracy wants

to keep the reinforced proportional, and even ND is not fully in agreement on this, since some of its personalities, such as former Deputy Minister Evrigenis, have expressed themselves in favor of the simple proportional.

Both the government and the parties and movements of the anti-Right opposition want the abolition of the present system and lean toward the simple proportional.

#### Elections and the System

Where there is a differentiation is in the fact that the government does not appear inclined to establish the "genuine and unadulterated simple majority." Reports speak of a new electoral system which will be at some distance from the reinforced proportional but will not be close to the traditional simple proportional.

The government's critics from the Left speak of two pre-election declarations by PASOK and regard the post-election behavior on this subject at least incomprehensible. According to paragraph 63 of the governmental platform with the people, "PASOK, once in government, will promote the establishment of the simple proportional system to register the public without distortions."

The second pre-election reference is the one pledging that one of the earliest laws to be enacted by the PASOK government will be the one establishing a permanent electoral system.

The government's critics refer to the repeated statements of the government representative that "the question of the electoral law will be discussed in the spring of 1985 at the earliest," and to the apparent intention of the government not to establish the traditional system of proportional representation which is based on the familiar proposals of A1. Papanastasiou in the interim period (with the participation of a party in the second distribution--at the Court of Appeals regional level--once it has elected one deputy or has received at least 10 percent of the valid ballots in the region, etc.).

#### The June Euro-elections

Clear proof that the government is not planning to establish the system of simple proportional of the 1946 and 1950 elections appears to be the programmatic theses ("a system of simple proportional will be established" and not "the simple proportional") and the notification to EEC last December about the electoral system the Greek government wished to adopt for the Euro-elections of June 1984.

As VIMA revealed on 26 December 1982, the Greek government had notified EEC that it accepted as a system of simple proportional for the Euro-elections the system D'HONDT (named after the Belgian professor) familiar and established in the international electoral terminology. This system is employed in the election of 284 deputies in the federal election of West



Germany. The request of the Greek government was not accepted because it was decided in principle that the Euro-elections would be conducted with the electoral system each member state chose. Nevertheless, reliable reports say that the Greek government plans to bring back for discussion by EEC the D'HONDT system in order to have it established as the common system for the 10 member states. The D'HONDT system is classified in the international bibliography among the so-called "proportional" and by its very nature it is combined with a many-seat electoral constituency.

As analyzed by VIMA in last December's report, the main feature of the D'HONDT system is the successive division of the total number of ballots, in each constituency, for each ticket by the numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., so that the seats in each nome will be given, in sequence, to those tickets which have the largest quotient after each division with each number separately.

#### The New Electoral Systems

If it is worth mentioning the D'HONDT system it is because its preference indicates that the government intends to establish for the parliamentary election as well a "mathematical system of simple proportional." It is more than certain that the government is not planning to adopt the traditional system of simple proportional in its various versions which were applied five times between 1926 and 1950.

Before we look into the reasons behind the government's and PASOK's decision, let us trace the possible decisions on the new electoral system. The government has two alternative plans. One refers to the conduct of the parliamentary election and the distribution of seats in two rounds (on two Sundays). According to this plan during the first Sunday 200 candidates will be elected with the system of simple proportional according to the strength of each party in each nome and constituency.

This means that in the large constituencies (Athens, Piraeus, Salonica) where the main electoral support of the small parties as well as of KKE is concentrated there will be "a satisfactory pluralistic representation of all the small parties in the Chamber of Deputies."

The remaining 100 seats (with or without the Deputies at Large) will be distributed under the majority system, and according to the results of the second round in which only the two parties that received the largest number of votes in the first round will take part. This will be a contest between a party of the Right and a Centrist or socialist party, in which the progressive party will count on the support of the KKE voters and of the other democratic parties.

This electoral system, of French origin, is regarded as satisfactory for the small parties (a party with 6-7 percent may elect 10 to 12 deputies and KKE with, say, 11 percent, will elect 20 deputies) while it will give a bonus to the democratic party in the contest of the second round.

Those who support this plan claim that the support of the Leftist voters in the second round must be considered certain, because the /Leftist/ parties will have already elected a satisfactory number of deputies in the first round, better than the one they get under the reinforced proportional /electoral system/.

Besides, it will be unreasonable (but also harmful as a visible result) to direct their voters toward the Rightist party and the assumption of governmental power by the Right.

The second electoral system being discussed now as a variation of the above provides for the election to be held in a single Sunday but with a different electoral system for the large constituencies (simple proportional) and a different (reinforced proportional) for the rest of the country.

The supporters of this plan claim that the voters of the Left in the provinces will vote against the Right since their party will have ample representation from the system applied in the large constituencies.

Yet this system of peculiar "morality" will have, in the opinion of other PASOK leaders, high political cost and will not receive the silent acceptance of the small parties with the divisions it imposes between their supporters in Athens and those in the provinces.

#### English Majoritarian

Two other electoral systems being discussed now and which are very different from any kind of a proportional system have as their main feature the single-member district. The candidates will be elected either under the British or under the French system. Under the British system, the candidate who receives a plurality is elected. Under the French system a candidate must receive a majority (50 percent plus 1) to be elected. The use of the second (French) system requires elections in 2 rounds.

#### The Effects of the Census

If, as we saw, the government intends to apply a proportional system together with one of mathematical calculation, its decision will not be affected only by the above considerations; there are also certain other political and social considerations.

It is no secret that the results of the March 1981 census (which refer to the registered voters in each nome) will impose significant changes in the allocation of electoral seats.

Both the census of the real population (on the basis of residence) as well as the data for the "legal" population (which has not yet been announced) reaffirm the "hydrocefalism" of Greek society and the depopulation of most areas in the provinces.

The published table is revealing. Approximately 20 to 25 electoral seats will be taken out of the provinces and added to the large cities; just as in the case of the 1961 census when the three major cities gained nine seats and five nomes, one each at the expense of 14 nomes which lost one each; just as in the case of the 1971 census when the three major cities won 20 seats and 24 nomes in the provinces lost a total of 30 seats (including the 12 Deputies at Large).

The transfer of these 20-25 seats from the provinces where PASOK continues to have influence and their transfer to the large cities (where as the municipal elections have shown there is certain percentage of decay and resentment) is, no doubt, a critical element for the government's choices with regard to the electoral system.

The consequences of the census, but also the new political conditions following the abolition of the individual preference vote lead certain government cadres to consider limiting or even abolishing the Deputies at Large. According to reliable interpretations, Article 54 of the Constitution does not establish constitutionally the institution of the Deputies at Large but simply allows its establishment by law.

In any event, even in the case where the institution is kept with five or six Deputies at Large, nothing will prevent the government (and its majority in the Chamber of Deputies) to use the number 300 or any other (as the basis for establishing the quota for each seat) instead of 288 (300 minus the 12 Deputies at Large).

#### Pros and Cons on the Proportional

But if these are the "technical" problems related to the new electoral law, there are also political problems.

The rejection by the government of the simple proportional system seems to emanate from the view that it is necessary to elect a government with its own independent majority in the Chamber of Deputies which, of course, will not come out of a distortion of the public will.

Certain government cadres believe that the system of simple proportional in its extreme will lead to "an Italization of the political life," that is, to a continuous governmental instability and to the people's inability to select different political orientations as it happened in the case of PASOK and ND. On the other hand, the same circles believe that a certain reinforcing of the electoral system to form an autonomous government will be less and less important as the state power will spread and weaken through the institutions of popular participation and the strengthening of professional and social agencies.

On the other hand, the supporters of simple proportional claim that the knowledge among the parties that no party will form an autonomous government

softens their disputes (since some of them will have to cooperate after the election), averts a bi-polar confrontation which is a pathological characteristic of Greek political life, leads to a multi-party staffing of the state machinery and generally strengthens political stability.

"It is better to have stability than a stable government" states epigrammatically the supporters of simple proportional rejecting the government instability of simple proportional. They see in the Italian model, instead of government instability, its admirable resilience to many trials (Red Brigades and Mafia) and to the conservative social structures, which otherwise might have led to some autocratic form of government.

7520

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## PASOK SEEN PURSUING COMMUNIST, NOT SOCIALIST GOALS

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 23 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] The radically different policy from the socialist parties of Western Europe being followed by our government on international issues--as now on the Euromissiles issue--is explained if we take into consideration which political forces it represents.

In West Europe, since very long ago, autonomous and independent socialist movements have been developed which are strongly opposed to any totalitarianism, including that of the Soviets. They had clear democratic orientations and thus were differentiated from the communist movements. In our country, however, a similar socialist movement was never able to be developed. Its place was seized very early on by the communist movement, directed and strengthened by Moscow, and it stifled it. Thus, those socialists who did appear from time to time on our political scene either vegetated in seclusion or became fellow-travelers of KKE and contributed to disseminating its propaganda. It was to be expected that, in the area of the Left, communist, not social-democratic, perceptions would prevail for decades; that a strong anti-western, and particularly anti-American, current would be cultivated, as well as a strong inclination towards the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries.

These tendencies remained persistent even after the diversifications which have been effected since 1968 in the area of the Marxist Left and which originally led to formation of the KKE Interior and then PASOK. So it is not strange that the latter's policy, for reasons clearly of internal influence, shows an obvious opposition to the West and an intense anti-Americanism, and, at the same time, in international politics it supports Soviet positions. This is dictated by its political and ideological roots which, naturally, cannot change from one day to the next.

For this reason, PASOK cannot be considered a socialist movement in the sense which the word has in the West. In essence, it is a communist movement, with its peculiarities, of course, which are owing to the deeper view and division of the Marxist Left in Greece. Thus is explained its old acute opposition to the western socialist parties and its persistent refusal to join the Socialist International. This opposition still exists today. It is simply deliberately hidden to serve party expediencies. However, it is much more extensive than before, precisely because PASOK is in power.

A comparison between its policy and the policy of western socialists testifies eloquently to its communist roots. And it is really a bitter irony for Greece to have been put in distress by communism as few countries have and to have elevated a government which serves communist aims in the international arena.



## ND, KKE, PASOK FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES, PERSONALITIES

Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 21 Aug 83 p 10

[Article by Mikhalis Dimitriou]

[Excerpts] As the summer ends in a few days (or better, the vacation period), the parties are preparing to begin again their familiar activity--political, organizational, ideological.

Among these activities are the "youth festivals," the meetings, fairs and other public events, the banquets and the interventions in mass agencies, and the fund drives with special coupons, special contributions, lotteries, etc.

Every fall, starting with the "youth festivals" in September, all the political parties begin their yearly financial campaigns in order to meet the fixed needs of the central and regional organizations (rent, office supplies, telephones, etc.)

Speaking about the parties' open financial resources--which seem to cover, in the main, their expenses--we note the deputies' contributions (which are 10 to 15,000 drachmas a month for PASOK and ND deputies, while for KKE deputies the contribution to the party is the largest portion of their allowance. From the total, they keep 35 to 40,000 drachmas.) and, of course, the contributions of adherents and friends.

These latter financial resources--contributions from adherents and friends--seem to surpass one-hundred million drachmas for each of the three large parties in the Chamber of Deputies.

This year the parties are also facing financial needs for pre-election campaigning for the Euroelections, which will occur in June 1984, in addition to the other special party needs, as we see it.

Let us look at the personalities and figures of the three parties in the Chamber, in the direction of their fund drives this year.

PASOK: Congress and Euroelections

PASOK authorities estimate the sum needed for the movement's congress (which will take place at the beginning of February 1984) and the Euroelections pre-electoral campaign at around 200 million drachmas.

In the Executive Office, the minister of health and welfare, Paraskevas Avgerinos, has been all-seeing about the movement's financial matters for years and he has acquired great experience on all the related matters (assignment of plans for fund-raising, putting up posters, etc.).

The secretary of the Finance Committee was and still is the general secretary of the Ministry of Public Works, civil engineer Kostas Geitonas who is considered a good organizer but also a man who "filches every ten-lepta coin in the expenses."

Alternate secretaries in the Finance Committee are three other civil engineers, Pan. Kostakis, Nikolaos Othonaios and Evvoia Deputy Vasilis Kedikoglou.

This 200 million will begin to be collected with coupons next month and until the beginning of February. There will be an extensive poster-hanging for the purposes of the fund drive--as the party Central Committee decided at its recent conference--and there will be emphasis on the need for every citizen who believes in "Allaghi" to give a small contribution so that the movement's financial self-power and transparency in its resources can be continued.

The coupons will be from 100 to 5,000 drachmas and the Finance Committee has formulated the plans for the organizations throughout Greece which will be covered mainly in three ways: with programmed mass campaigns to the people; with a personal plan for each member; and with proceeds from events conducted by the organizations in the frameworks of the fund drive.

#### New Democracy's 100 Million

Fixed expenses for this winter for the official opposition party are calculated at 100 million drachmas; in these are included expenditures both for the central offices and for travels for the Euroelections. According to the assurances of the party's general director, Georgios Matthaloudakis, ND's fund drive will begin in October and last until the eve of the Euroelections. It cannot be precisely estimated, says Mr. Matthaloudakis, if the 100 million will be enough to cover, aside from the fixed needs for the offices on Rigillis street and the Euroelections, the necessary expenses for the party congress (which reportedly will take place in October and November).

At any rate, if it is not, deputies, cadres and members will be called to pay additional contributions and reinforcements. The party has already printed coupons for contributions from 100 drachmas to 5,000 drachmas. The president of the Finance Committee is the former deputy minister, Andreas Zaimis, and an older member is the well-known hotel businessman Takis Karadondis.

Supervising the fund drive for the Executive Office is the general director, Nikos Matthaloudakis, who is responsible for every expenditure. Director of ND financial services is the economist Kon. Komminos.

#### The "House" Needs

KKE needed around 200 million drachmas last year for the financial needs of its central offices, to conduct its tenth congress (tickets, expenses for lodging

committees and delegates, printed material, etc.) and for completion of the "Party House" in Perisso. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the largest part of that sum went for the needs of the "House," there are still needs (mainly equipment, etc.) in KKE's building complex. Thus, a large portion of this year's party fund-raising--the height has not yet been designated--will be spent for these needs, so that the offices of the Central Committee, Politburo and certain committees can be housed there by the beginning of 1984.

In the Politburo, the person responsible for the party's financial matters is Deputy Nikos Kaloudis who explains that: "We are still pondering whether we should conduct two parallel financial campaigns--one for completion of the "House" and one for our fixed needs, which are increased this year because of the Euroelections." After Mr. Kaloudis, the man responsible for coordinating the KKE fund drive is Mr. Koukouvitis, a member of the party Control Committee.

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**KKE(INT) SECRETARY MEETS PRC OFFICIAL**

Athens I AVGI in Greek 19 Aug 83 p 1

[Excerpts] Peking, 18 August (special correspondence)--As the "New China" agency communicated, the secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, received today at the People's National Assembly Building Bambi Drakopoulos, member of the KKE Interior Executive Office, and his wife Toula.

Hu Yaobang expressed to Mr. Drakopoulos his pleasure over their new meeting, after their first meeting and acquaintance in 1980 which reestablished the two parties' relations.

Hu Yaobang stressed that the Chinese Communist Party has much respect for the KKE Interior's struggle and believes in the prospect it opens.

**B. Drakopoulos**

On his part, Bambi Drakopoulos referred to his impressions from his new visit to China and to the improvements he perceived in its economic development.

He also referred to Greece's more general foreign and domestic problems and to KKE Interior's activity to deal with them. In addition, he expressed his pleasure over the strengthening and further development being noted in relations between the two parties.

After the meeting ended, Hu Yaobang gave a luncheon in honor of his Greek guests.

Bambi and Toula Drakopoulos have been in China since 6 August; they were invited by the Chinese Communist Party.

9247

CSO: 3521/432

## DETAILED REPORT ON PASOK CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 7 Aug 83 p 9

/Article by Mikh. Dimitriou: 'What Was Indeed Said Behind Closed Doors in the Central Committee'7

/Text7 The Tenth meeting of the PASOK Central Committee last weekend looked more like a Congress than an ordinary conference. All the members who asked for the floor spoke and some of them more than once or twice. The only exceptions were the ministers--members of the Central Committee--who listened patiently and silently for hours to justified or unjustified observations about the governmental work, that is, their own work.

On the first day of the session (because on Sunday there was a long meeting with Gaston Thorn, chairman of the EEC Commission and other governmental obligations) the premier himself and PASOK Chairman Andreas Papandreou listened to 25 speakers in all commenting on his political report, supplementing it or disagreeing with certain of its points. The Tenth Conference of the Central Committee was not merely an aggregate of monologues, but a dialectic composition of fertile observations, as shown by the content of its political resolution.

Replies to all the issues discussed were given by Andreas Papandreou, Giorgos Gennimatas, Akis Tsokhatzopoulos with regard to governmental policy, while Kostas Laliotis, Khristos Papoutsis and cadres of the Executive Secretariat gave replies on organizational questions. The juxtaposition of "views and opinions" (we shall see which ones) was not the main and exclusive feature of the conference.

The element which prevailed--beyond any doubt--was indeed the productive and creative dialogue, since every member of the Central Committee exercised the right and had the opportunity to express his views freely during the 16 hours devoted to this purpose.

The Executive Bureau, in its communication, underlined the quality of the conference by saying that "everyone has the right to disagree and no one is sent to the Disciplinary Council for expulsion because of his disagreement within the PASOK organs in which he participates."



All that was said in the form of observations, additions, views, or criticisms "behind closed doors" during the second post-election session of the PASOK Central Committee is given below.

#### Peace and Farm Questions

Following A. Papandreou's political report, which lasted almost 2 hours until 12:15 on Saturday, 25 members of the Central Committee spoke for about 5 minutes each. Most of them referred to issues included in Papandreou's general report but also on issues which were left out. Those who wanted to speak gave their name to the presidium composed of Paraskevas Avgerinos, Petros Moralis, and G. Laskarakis.

Papandreou said he would respond on all issues touched upon freely by the speakers. He requested only that they avoid overlappings and repetitions, and that they try to express as wide a variety of views as possible.

The first to speak was Eurodeputy Khristos Markopoulos, chairman of EADEA /expansion unknown/, who said that the government must more vigorously promote the peace movements which appeal so much to the people everywhere and especially to the youth. He added that the peace initiatives of the government had a great impact internationally and in our country.

Then Markopoulos complained about the action of the two TV stations which did not broadcast the EADEA statement on the initialing of the agreement on the American bases, while they did broadcast the protest march of the Greek Committee for an International Detente and Peace /EEDYE/ which is connected with KKE.

Commenting on Papandreou's report, Markopoulos said that the government and PASOK have correctly grasped the problem of technological progress and particularly the infrastructure of microelectronics. He said it is necessary to keep an eye on the penetration of the Japanese who expand their exports of microelectronic technology into European markets also sought by Greece.

Khristos Papoutsis, the secretary of the committee on organization, said there are certain weaknesses in the knowledge and ideological experience of the PASOK cadres and proposed the establishment of a training school with special seminars.

Deputy Eirini Lambraki observed--in part--that the people continue to see the government as their own and decisively support its efforts. Yet Lambraki said, certain phenomena of "nouveau riches" behavior cause comments and displeasure. Lambraki welcomed Papandreou's proposal that socialism should become a way of everyday life for all of us because--she said--"the march to the socialist change is a march for the change of morals and expression."

Central Committee members Than. Rallis (physician) and Kimonas Koulouris (secretary general of athletics) said that while the Right speaks demagogically about "green guards" in the ministries and civil services the fact is that in

certain key posts "there are junta supporters and rightist hardliners who undermine us." Both asked the government to become bolder and to push forward the necessary democratization and to protect the work and the march toward Change removing "junta supporters and unrepentant underminers."

The disagreeing participant, Mikhalis Kharalambidis, raised the issue of democratic processes in PASOK at all levels, which he said are being delayed.

Four other participants from the provinces, Nikolaos Khras from Fthiotida, L. Kyriakou from Xanthi, L. Zarras from Larisa and D. Gaitanidis from Pella, said they agreed with all points of the Papandreou report. But they added that there might be greater attention given to the problems of the farmers who are "the backbone of our Movement." They asked to promote the farm industry cooperatives and other institutional changes and to speed up the measures of social protection (health centers, free medicine, etc.). They also noted that there is inadequate coordination between the central leadership and the local organizations.

Two other members of the Central Committee, among the younger in age, Kostas Skandalis and Foivos Khatzis, spoke--in part--about the economic situation and especially about inflation and unemployment. They suggested to push forward the overall process of structural changes, socialization, supervisory councils, public investments, role of private capital, etc., and underlined that in addition to the new mechanisms it is necessary to have real participation and control by the workers over the production process.

#### N. Kargopoulos and Others

The intervention of chemist Nikos Kargopoulos, former secretary of the organizational committee, gave a different tone to the atmosphere of the session. Kargopoulos argued that in reality there is no party organization but an apparatus penetrated by favoritism, an appendage of the government. He then said that he disagrees with the initialing of the agreement for the bases; that he considers the agreement a "deviation" by PASOK and the government from the message of the October 18, 1981 election and from its platform targets.

In any event, Kargopoulos voted in favor of Papandreou's political report, contrary to what has been reported. The Kargopoulos' views were opposed, some time with argumentation, some time with shouting, by several Central Committee members such as Kimon Koulouris, Vaso Papandreou, Stefanos Tzoumakas, Kostas Skandalidis, Giannis Souladakis, Khristos Papoutsis, Mikhalis Doris, Dimitris Rokkos, and Miltiadis Papaioannou.

Generally, all of them argued that Kargopoulos' views were either an expression of personal bitterness or a fractionalist effort and castigated the excessively negative tone of his intervention. Several of them, especially the members of the Executive Secretariat, admitted that "it is true that some committees have not been sufficiently active, and that there were cases of

favoritism and interventions in the state mechanism, but these are exceptions." Certain speakers also said that the expressions of Kargopoulos insulted honored fighters and the majority of the members of the Movement.

#### The Papandreou Response

In his response, Papandreou thanked everyone for their views and added that he found many of them remarkable. The "omissions" in his general political report, he said, are not found in the comprehensive political-organizational report of the Executive Bureau. With regard to government weaknesses in various sectors, Papandreou explained that "we know them and we are not offering excuses."

On the complaints about the means of mass information--which was the subject of other later speeches--Papandreou said that "significant progress has been achieved but much more has to be done."

With regard to the interventions by Kargopoulos and Kharalambidis, Papandreou said that he does not agree with their content. In any event, Papandreou, speaking quietly, explained that the agreement on the bases "sealed the end of an era of dependence" and that the bold stand of the Greek government was recognized by the international press, both East and West.

Papandreou also stated that the government would continue its policy for international peace and detente, starting with the Balkans, and added that the agreement for the bases is part of the government's conquests for the country's national sovereignty and independence.

#### Gennimatas and Tsokhatzopoulos

The afternoon meeting on Saturday started at 1730 hours and ended at 2230 hours. Giorgos Gennimatas and Akis Tsokhatzopoulos, both responsible for the report of the Executive Bureau, said: "Comrades, if we are to read all 107 pages we will take 6 hours on things that you have already read."

Thus, it was agreed that the two speakers would refer to the key points of the report and devote the rest of the time to a discussion on the report as a whole. Gennimatas spoke first for 20 minutes--the only time he stopped chain smoking--and was followed by Akis Tsokhatzopoulos who spoke for 30 minutes.

Both spoke of PASOK's strategy, the sociopolitical developments, the strategy of National Popular Unity, the goals and the organizational issues of the Movement (achievements and weaknesses of the organization, choices and goals for a political organization for battle, relations of PASOK--government--state--mass movement, basic directions of the organizational work, organizational structure, etc.).

With regard to the "branch organizations," Tsokhatzopoulos said that "their

members will be rearranged" but they will not be resolved as rumored. Simply, many members of the branch organizations will be moved to the local organizations.

"The goal of this rearrangement," Tsokhatzopoulos said, "is twofold. To strengthen the quality of the local organizations and to put an end to certain phenomena of bossism and favoritism in the branch organizations."

Tsokhatzopoulos said that these transfers will start from the "large" branch organizations such as those of doctors, lawyers, economists, etc. Subsequently, 27 participants spoke for 10 minutes each and presented their views on the various points of the Executive Bureau report and especially on two of them: Those which referred to the role and operations of the party organization and the PASOK-government-state-mass movement relations.

Mikhalis Doris, former secretary general of the Ministry of Culture, speaking about the International Congress of Culture, said that it must be an activity with a broad partisan character. Doris underlined the great contribution of culture to every national liberation effort. Reviewing the cultural policies of the last 2 years he said a great deal had been accomplished in programs and infrastructure, in spite of certain elitist features.

On her part, Melina Merkouri--who had taken a seat together with other ministers at the back of the hall--handed the presidium a written report on matters of cultural policy.

Another female member of the Central Committee, Anna Karamanou (syndicalist cadre in the Telecommunications Organization /OTE/), spoke about the women's issue and the problems of sex equality and underlined--in part--that these issues are related to the national consciousness, the structures and models which are not abolished automatically by legal modernizations. Karamanou called on the participants to become "socialists in practice" on these issues as well as because progress in sex equality is a criterion for the quality and content of the socialist society PASOK wants to establish.

V. Papandreou and Dim. Rokkos

Executive Secretariat member Madame Vaso Papandreou /no relation to the premier/, chairman of the Hellenic Organization of Medicine and Small Size Enterprises and Handicrafts /EOMMEX/, said that our policy in all sectors must create favorable correlations "so that one step of the Change will lead to another, and not to go back or stand still."

Specifically, and contrary to newspaper reports, Madame Papandreou did not ask for partisan control of the state machinery let alone of the Armed Forces and the Security Corps. She underlined that:

"The ND for many years had created its own relationships in the state machinery and so did the junta. We, however, must develop a new type and



ethos of our influence through the institution of popular participation. Without partisanship and without effort to seize the traditional state machinery. We must not turn out to be historically a political power which 'came, saw, and left' after a few years."

Certain other participants--such as those who came from the provinces and rural areas--took the floor to speak about the protection of the people's health and the measures for social protection of the farmers. Some of them said that while the government called 1983 "Health Year," the first 6 months passed without implementation of certain institutional changes such as the hospital doctor, the first level care, the new system of medicine production and marketing, etc. Commenting on these observations Akis Tsokhatzopoulos (since P. Avgerinos was serving as chairman of the conference) said that certainly there were delays in these sectors which were not unrelated to the reactions of associations and agencies.

"Even some of our organizations and cadres such as some in the Union of Doctors of Athens Piraeus Hospitals /ΕΙΝΑΠ/ had misunderstood those institutional changes. We had a lot of trouble trying to convince them and so time passed," Tsokhatzopoulos said.

Two other participants, Dimitris Rokkos (secretary general of the Ministry of Education) and Dimitris Mavrakis (councillor of the Ministry of Technology), spoke about the institutional changes in the higher education institutions /ΑΕΙ/ which generally show very satisfactory progress. Both participants, who are known university educators, said that clusters of opposition to the governmental policy continue to exist in the AEI while at the same time there are instances of "regrouping of the reaction." Mavrakis also spoke of the effort for technological modernization and its significance for the state bureaucracy (fighting against red tape, saving on personnel, etc.).

#### The Organizational Problems

A great deal of the discussion on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning focused on organizational problems, climaxed by the critical "counter report" of Nikos Kargopoulos. He declared that he would not vote in favor of the Executive Bureau report and then for 20 minutes read his political-organizational platform and made certain additional observations.

Regarding the question of the Mytilini Nome PASOK Committee, which was brought before the party's Disciplinary Council, Kargopoulos said that there has been no decision for their expulsion (Note: because it already exists) because the disagreeing members were right and that when they were summoned to Athens to defend themselves they brought approximately 1,000 signatures in their support from the local organizations. In his response, the secretary of the Local Administration Committee, Miltiadis Papaioannou said that some of those members are guilty of anti-party behavior and specifically, that during the municipal election campaign, they refused to support--if they did not sabotage--the candidacy of Levteris Kiosklis (today, deputy director of the



Social Insurance Foundation (TKA) for the Mytilini mayoralty.

Speaking for the Larisa Nome Committee, Giorgos Gennimatas said that the disagreements he found between its cadres and a local deputy and the mayor were of a personal and not ideological character. There were disputes over the exercise of local power, Gennimatas said, "and on such questions there are directives of the chairman and of the leading organs as to how they should be dealt with. And so they were."

Giorgos Daskalakis, deputy and member of the Executive Secretariat, responded to the Kargopoulos criticism that PASOK pushes forward a form of "state syndicalism." Daskalakis explained why Law 1264 is the most progressive in Europe. The same view was supported with specific data by Giannis Paidakakis who said that in the syndicalist field the efforts of ND are in line with those of KKE in order to create problems for the governmental policies.

In several interventions, Stefanos Tzoumakas, deputy and member of the Executive Secretariat, defended the work of the central leading organs, in spite of any omissions and weaknesses, and argued that in general and in the last analysis the result of their action is good.

Agreeing with these views, Khristos Papoutsis said that there are certain problems of cooperation between the old and new members of the organization since the former see with a feeling of mistrust the "newcomers". In any event, both Tzoumakas and Papoutsis and later Laliotis agreed that the organization must open its doors, but in ways and methods which will assure the assimilation of the new members and their mobilization in the daily struggle for Change.

Agreeing in part with Kargopoulos' view that the party mechanism has overgrown without control after the election, participants Gaitanidis and Kyriakou said that on the other hand there are many "neointruders" and that in certain organizations "all the riffraff have come in."

In his intervention Kostas Skandalidis said that the views of comrade Kargopoulos have personal sources and are exclusively his own with regard to the role of the party organization. "Comrade Kargopoulos," Skandalidis said, "has unfortunately raised his personal assessments to the level of fundamental principles to questions concerning the character and role and course of the Movement."

Participant Foivos Khatzis said that he disagreed with Kargopoulos' view that PASOK is now marching on the road to social democracy and that it copies faithfully France's Socialist Party. Khatzis, who is studying in France, said in part that PASOK exercises at all levels a socialist policy which may be influenced creatively and constructively but is also adjusted to the Greek conditions.

Speaking on the tax policy specifically, Khatzis said that it continues to be

rudderless and criticized certain tax-extortionist views of Dimitris Koulourianos such as the one 'which regards private cars as a luxury item instead of a tool for work and transportation in the city.'

On his part, Dimitris Rokkos said that "I, too, have criticized strongly our course and our organization, but I never went so far as to make personal attacks, general and oversimplified statements." Rokkos added that some of Kargopoulos' assessments may have some basis but on the whole are at variance with reality.

"I appeal as a friend to comrade Kargopoulos," Rokkos concluded, "to reconsider his views and to take part in our common effort."

The intervention of Kimon Koulouris was different in tone. He called Kargopoulos' tactics as undermining party unity and as factionalist. "Since the days of the Democratic Defense," he said, "the past has taught us that such disagreements had purely personal motives; they are efforts cut off from the people and are condemned by history. It does not take long before such persons understand their error, see the impasse of the ways they chose, and want to return to the Movement. But then they find the doors closed."

Participant Athanasios Athanasoulis, now a counsellor in the Ministry of Education and earlier a supporter of the "factionalist group of Tziolas," started with self-criticism and then passed on to critical tones.

"I, too," Athanasoulis said, "had in the past held questionable views but the course of the Movement convinced me that I was wrong, that there is consistency and steady course in keeping with our programmatic goals. All these groups--and I speak from experience--seeing the dead end to which they lead themselves, select supposedly advanced political positions and always raise clever problems of intra-party democracy."

Physician and member of the Enlightenment Committee, G. Papadatos, analyzing the problems of PASOK's organization said that there is a need to intensify the ideological work and to improve the activities of the organizations.

Six other participants expressed their beliefs that the Kargopoulos views are not personal but those of a small group with extensions in certain organizations, which must be thrown out of the Movement. Some of them said, as a matter of fact, that "freedom of expression in the party organs is one thing and autonomous actions and factions are another."

They based their arguments on the fact that the Kargopoulos document, which eventually was leaked to the press, had been circulating for some time among certain organizations and cadres. Specifically, it was said that copies of the "counter report" were found and given to the party in Mytilini, Khiliomodi, Korinthos, Limnos, and Salonica.

In spite of suggestions by Avgerinos and Moralis, Kargopoulos angrily

interrupted most of these speakers, saying that they distorted his statements or attributed to him intentions which are not in line with his character and his history in the Movement.

Closing the discussion, Khristos Papoutsis, who succeeded Kargopoulos in the post of organizational secretary, said that 'we regard comrade Kargopoulos as a valuable cadre and we invite him to fight with us for the Change, hand in hand, because the Change to Socialism must go forward and will go forward.'

#### Farmers and "Bosses"

The second member of the Central Committee, who stated that he would not vote in favor of the Executive Secretariat's political report because he disagreed on several points, was Mikhalis Kharalambidis, a cadre of PASOK in Italy and follower of certain "Third World views" about the course for a transition to socialism.

Kharalambidis repeated his views about the democratic processes in the party, defended the "ideological purity" of the Movement, and added that while the youth organization in Italy has played a consistent role, 'we do not find a good climate among our comrades in Greece.'

In their replies, Akis Tzokhatzopoulos and Khristos Papoutsis invoked specific data (documents, announcements, correspondence, etc.) and supported the view that those at the head of the youth in Italy had "an erroneous practice and an erroneous view of the political reality" and that in the end had initiatives which were in conflict with the principles and goals of the Movement.

All other participants voted for the political organizational report of the Executive Bureau, which was enriched with observations, written recommendations and various proposals. Contrary to rumors, the issues raised by Kargopoulos did not become a dominant element of the session.

For example, many observations were voiced about farm questions, the conditions in the state administration and the policies of the mass media.

Participant G. Laskarakis said that he conveyed fighting greetings of the border region of Evros, whose people are in support of the government because it is a government of the people which has improved their condition at all levels.

Khras, Gaitanidis, Kyriakou, and Zarras, in support of the government's positive work and its influence, pointed out the delays in certain issues and problems concerning the farmers, such as health and EEC subsidies. Khras spoke specifically on problems of cooperation that exist between the cooperatives and the directors of agencies and mentioned specifically the case of the president of the National Tobacco Agency.

A. Doutsos from Kiveri of Argolida said that while the policy of the government toward EEC is correct, there are centers of opposition in the state machinery "conspiring against it."

Doutsos charged the party organization with a tendency to present a picture of self-complacency and asked that "we harden our intervention in the mass movement, because the reaction has raised its head and it is trying to wear us out."

A written intervention on farm issues with several proposals was presented to the presidium by Minister of Agriculture and Central Committee member Kostas Simitis. In turn, Pavlos Nikolaidis asked, among other things, for greater attention to the medium-small business problems which he analyzed. Nikolaidis spoke of the difficulties facing the medium-small businessmen because of the EEC competition and the banking system.

Of all the ministers and deputy ministers who participated in the conference, the only one who spoke--he was sitting up front on the second day of the session--was Deputy Minister of Health and Welfare Giannis Floros who spoke of a personal experience with the arbitrary bossism of certain members. Floros, reviewing the Movement's organizational problems, said it is necessary to increase its mass character, but this has to be done carefully to avoid problems from the inability to assimilate the new cadres. Floros proposed special mechanisms for the reception and preparation of new cadres (seminars, meetings, systematic conferences, etc.).

Akhaia Deputy Thanasis Golfopoulos said that he has in mind cadres of a nome committee who operate in an old-partisan way and made a disparaging remark against a non-parliamentary personality of the Movement. Golfopoulos called the work of the nome councils to be positive until now and, subsequently in a dialogue with G. Gennimatas, discussed the representative character of their composition. Golfopoulos expressed the view that the nome councils should not be composed of certain representatives of agencies and organizations but should be developed into institutions of direct popular participation.

#### About TV and "Bureaucrats"

With regard to the mass media, many participants said that positive progress has been made and the difference is evident in terms of quality and democratization since the time of ND rule, but they added that there are many weaknesses which seriously hurt the governmental work.

In addition to Markopoulos, Doris also criticized the way both channels broadcast recently the statement of a Turk official on the Aegean. Deputy Minister Milt. Papaioannou spoke of the low caliber of certain newly minted newsmen and the poor presentation of the governmental work because of inexperience and ineptitude.



Nik. Khras said that for the farmers and the residents of the provinces TV is the only means of information, yet TV is not dealing with the real problems and the interests of the people.

K. Skandalidis, Khr. Papoutsis ("after the discussion about the socialization measures," he said, "we have discovered how we benefit from the open dialogue on TV"), and other participants spoke on the role and the weaknesses of the mass media.

Tsokhatzopoulos gave assurances that the "open dialogue" on TV will continue and added that there is awareness of its weaknesses in terms of programs and personnel.

Giannis Mortzos submitted a written proposal for establishing a central policy for guidance in the mass media. At the same time it was decided to strengthen the Movement's Press Bureau with the necessary personnel "so that the Movement itself will reply to the ND charges instead of putting the whole burden on Maroudas."

Andreas Fouras raised the issue of the Khristodoulidis resignation and asked for information. Tsokhatzopoulos read the Khristodoulidis resignation letter from the Executive and the Central Committees, dated last January.

Tsokhatzopoulos explained that "because a lot has been written on this issue I will read to you the entire text, at the request of Khristodoulidis himself, whom we honor as a human being, as a fighter, and as a cadre who has a lot to offer to the Movement." Tsokhatzopoulos said that nothing has been decided yet as to the post in which Khristodoulidis will be used because he still faces health problems. D. Rokkos proposed that the Central Committee express their sympathy to the person of Khristodoulidis. Tsokhatzopoulos said, "not only our sympathy but also our esteem is a fact, and better let us wish that Andreas will soon recover."

Deputy Secretary of Youth and a member of the Executive Bureau, Kostas Laliotis closed the proceedings of the conference with a general review of the recommendations and views that were voiced.

Laliotis underlined the unanimity on the central political decisions and on the government's actions, noted the high level of discussion and the variety of proposals, and stressed that the self-criticism should not lead to an inward search and internal examination of the Movement and of the governmental activity.

Laliotis said that it is necessary to establish socialism as a daily way of life and action, and he condemned those who go frequently to receptions, rub shoulders with the plutocrats and the representatives of the oligarchy, wear expensive sport shirts, and appear on the pages of IAKKHOS and on the fourth page (the society pages) of certain newspapers.



Laliotis characterized such phenomena as old party habits, and argued that the ideological profile of the Movement is threatened not only by those old party types of people, but also by certain others. "And those others," Laliotis added, "are all those newcomers who, without ideological foundation and without fighting titles, appear today as the purists of socialism and Marxism."

Laliotis agreed with the Khatzis' view that certain technocratic views such as those of Koulourianos on the heavy taxation of private cars, while they do not add much to public revenue, on the contrary cause complaints and impressions that the decisions of the government are not the result of political criteria.

In his general comments on the administrative modernization measures, Laliotis said that while we have introduced many institutional changes, "we get bogged down in decisions, we let the bosses govern, we are constantly being late and losing time." Laliotis recalled Papandreou's view on the necessary changes in the citizen's everyday life and said characteristically, that "we must not lose the battle of impressions the citizens gets from the long lines in front of the counters at the public payment centers."

In his self-criticism for the Executive Bureau, Laliotis admitted that it cannot carry out properly its leadership duties because of the ministerial capacities of its members, and this, he said, is a matter of major concern for us. He added that the Executive Bureau is concerned about the strategy of the third way to socialism and agreed with the critical comments by participants about the weaknesses of the central leadership.

Laliotis recommended that the factionalist effort headed by Kargopoulos must be beaten down at its inception and added that such factionalism is organized in sectors and "aktivs" and has followers among certain party cadres who serve in ministries.

In his long speech Laliotis spoke of the government's strategic choices, of the country's socio-political situation, and of the opposition tactics by ND and KKE. He underlined his optimism for a new 3-year sic period, and concluded with his conviction that PASOK is the only convincing organization for change and there must be no "retrogression" in the course of change which has already started.

After the Laliotis speech, the Tenth Conference ended at 1730 hours on Sunday. The next meeting--in about 3 months--will certainly be even more important because it will also undertake to prepare the party Congress.

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## BILL FOR NATIONAL HEALTH SYSTEM INTRODUCED IN PARLIAMENT

## Bill Contents

Athens EXORMISI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 13 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Galini Foura]

[Text] We are proud of our new institutions. We are certain that in a little while our people will be proud of their medical care.

This was stated to the EXORMISI by Minister of Health and Welfare Paraskevas Avgerinos, who also noted that "the everyday participation and involvement of the social agencies will be an important prerequisite for the greatest possible perfecting of the formation and operation of this health system in our country."

"The date of 10 August," the minister stressed, "is one of the important days in the 22 months of this government's work, as well as a milestone in the affairs and development of PASOK.

"With the introduction of the bill on the National Health System, our people's vision of better health care which was expressed in the proclamation of 3 September is linked with the government's will, as Premier Andreas Papandreou had defined it in the government's statements on its program.

"We are marching with steady and confident steps to build a health-care system which is humane and effective, a system which our people are entitled to and deserve.

"However, the introduction in the Chamber of Deputies of the bill yesterday and the voting on it tomorrow are only the beginning.

"The everyday participation and activity of the agencies will be a significant prerequisite for the greatest possible perfecting of the formation and operation of this health-care system in our country."

A health-care system which is nationwide, unified, and decentralized is being legislated in our country by the bill on the National Health System, which was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies on Wednesday.

The basic principle of this bill is that health is a social good which does not conform to the laws of profitmaking but rather constitutes the exclusive responsibility of the State.

Thus in the new health system every citizen, regardless of his social and financial situation or his place of residence, has the same right to proper care and attention from society.

The chief objectives of the bill are:

Decentralization and social control.

A unified framework for the development and operation of health services--unified planning--equal sharing.

The development of primary preventive care.

The institution of the hospital doctor, with full-time and exclusive hospital employment.

Decentralization--Social Control

The decentralization of health care constitutes an essential prerequisite for the materialization of the fundamental principle "an equal and high level of care to every Greek citizen," and it manifests itself:

In the dividing of the country into public-health regions.

In the formation of a Regional Health Council (PE. S. Y.) in every public-health region. The division of the country into public-health regions and the formation of the PE. S. Y. will be done when the tertiary self-administration system is instituted and administrative decentralization is developed.

In the jurisdictions of the nomarchy councils, which will be consultative and supervisory in the sector of health at the nome level.

In the jurisdiction and responsibility of the hospital administrative councils, for the sake of a unified direction in hospital and outpatient care.

One objective of the decentralization of the health system is to see to it that no sick person is forced to seek care outside his region.

The public-health region will have units which will range from the Health Centers and their regional clinics up to the regional hospitals at the university level, the special hospitals, and the research units.

Development of Primary Preventive Care

The bill which has been introduced effects a particularly pioneering change--the legislating of Health Centers, a move which is in line with

current international practice and understanding about strengthening the role of outpatient care.

The turn towards primary preventive care, which in essence is an effort to realize the philosophical principle "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," will have as a result:

The proper and scientifically substantiated enlightenment of the population on matters of public health;

the handling of basic health problems of the citizens at their place of residence;

the avoidance of unnecessary and very expensive admissions to hospitals, which both increase the public-health cost and are a burden on the operation of the hospitals, thus affecting their performance;

the protection of the environment;

the protection of workers at their places of work;

the development of the sectors of social medicine and social care for the citizens.

An important role in primary preventive care will be played by the family doctor, an institution being legislated for the first time in our country.

The family doctor will restore the close personal relation between the patient and the doctor.

The absence of this human relation is considered to be one of the most important reasons for the development of a serious questioning of the potential of medical science in our country.

Institution of the Hospital Doctor

The driving wheel of the public-health system in each of our districts is the doctor.

Although the contribution made by the rest of the public-health personnel should not be ignored, nevertheless the relation of the doctor to the system and his functional integration in it, and his level of training and the extent of his consciousness about it play a significant role in the characterization of the health system itself and in its effectiveness.

The National Health System cannot be based on a doctor who is being crushed between his effort to achieve social and scientific esteem and his struggle for a professional career within conditions of harsh competition.

On the other hand, the doctor should be assured of all the necessary conditions for his scientific and professional development and should be relieved of any need to struggle for a livelihood, so that he can devote himself with undivided attention and responsibly to his functions.

This need is also expressed by this bill's introduction of the institution of doctors having full-time and exclusive employment within the National Health System (ESY).

The chief characteristics of this institution are:

The permanent status of the doctor;

full-time and exclusive employment within the ESY and a ban on private practice;

the opportunity for the doctor to develop on the basis of his professional qualifications and his performance, which are evaluated by way of regular reviews by instituted organs;

an opportunity for a continuing education;

the establishment of a special salary schedule which assures the doctor of remuneration which corresponds to the work which he provides, to the conditions under which he works, to the responsibilities which are created by his being sent for many years of university and post-university (specialized) education, and to his ongoing training to ensure that he is not cut off from the advances and developments of science.

#### Hospitals and Clinics Made Public Entities

New hospitals are to be founded only as NPDD [Legal Entities of Public Law], while private-law hospitals which are subsidized by the State are to be made into public entities.

Otherwise their subsidizing is to be broken off and they are to be monitored by supervisory councils, in which representatives of local self-government and the workers at the hospital will participate.

At the same time, the granting of permits for the establishment of private clinics is being stopped, and the expansion of those which now exist is banned.

Health care, with the costs borne by the State and the insurance organizations, is to be granted by the Health Centers, the regional clinics, and the hospitals.

Contracts between the health fund and private clinics will require the approval of the minister of health and welfare and the Central Health Council.



## Health Card

Another innovation of the National Health System is the use of a health card for every citizen.

The providing of citizens with health cards which will include their medical history will begin on a trial basis in one region and will be completed within about 5 years.

## Bill Protested

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 11 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] Following a year of vacillations, disagreements within the government, and repeated recastings, yesterday the famous bill on the establishment of a "National Health System" was introduced in the summer recess committee of the Chamber of Deputies. This bill consists of 45 articles and is accompanied by an explanatory report 103 pages long! Premier A. Papandreou issued a statement in which he said that "we are laying the foundations to see to it that at last the quality of care which each citizen gets will not be dependent on his financial situation," and he characterized the functioning of a fair and effective health system as "a significant step in our progress toward the socialist transformation of our society."

However Evang. Averof, the leader of the official opposition, pointed out that in the sector of health as well the government is making changes of a totalitarian nature. Changes which provide the Greek people with equal care, but of an inferior rather than superior sort. And which deprive them--in the name of the socialist transformation--of their inviolable right to freely choose the doctor and health institution of their desire. Patients and doctors are transformed into "numbers"!

The bill which was introduced yesterday actually provides for the virtual abolition within 5 years of approximately 100 (of the 380) funds which at present have health divisions, their consolidation, and the referral to a special account of the Ministry of Health and Welfare of the expenditures for care and treatment by those insured in them. (The former deputy minister Ger. Apostolatos characterized as the most unacceptable provision of the bill the virtual dissolution of the health funds, which means the leveling down of hospital and medical care, and he predicted that this will lead to a chain reaction of justified opposition on the part of the people concerned).

Other fundamental innovations of this legislation--which even before its introduction had given rise to "violent" reactions among the doctors above all but also within PASOK and the government itself--are the following:

- 1) The establishment of the institution of the hospital doctor, who will be working full-time and exclusively in the hospital (and who is forbidden to practice private medicine), at base salaries of from 35,000 drachmas (for assistants) to 130,000 drachmas (for administrators).

- 2) The creation of 400 Health Centers throughout the country, of which 190 will operate in rural areas--167 within 1984--and 210 will operate in urban areas.
- 3) The nationalization of all the private-law institutions which are subsidized today by the State.
- 4) The discontinuation of the practice of granting permits for the establishment or expansion of private clinics.
- 5) The establishment of the institution of family doctor, which will consist of 1,800 persons (general practitioners) and 1,200 other doctors (pediatricians).
- 6) The patients are deprived of the right to choose their own hospital doctor or hospital.

Minister of Health and Welfare Par. Avgerinos, irritated because he lost the battle with his financial colleagues for guaranteeing the credits for the immediate implementation of the new system (which finally is being "spread out" over 5 years), avoided giving any statement or explanation about the bill yesterday. And he gave the impression that its final form had been communicated to him by the Political Office shortly before the journalists were informed of it.

The premier made some statements about the bill, saying that with this legislation "the phase of institutional changes in the sector of health is being carried through."

#### Undermining Charged

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 13 Aug 83 p 1

[Excerpts] Nobody can deny that in Greece the sector of health is the most vital and undoubtedly the least developed. Despite the expenditures made up to now and the high level of professionalism, we continue to have faulty organization, inadequate infrastructure, and a low quality of services.

The new bill undoubtedly degrades the nature of public-health care, takes away human contact and the personal element in care, transforms both doctors and patients into impersonal numbers, and creates the conditions for an orientalizing of public-health activity, with lines of patients endlessly thronging to the health centers.

It abolishes the inalienable right in health matters to a free choice of doctor, and thus it creates not only psychological but also practical problems of confidence and effectiveness in health care.

With two special provisions it undertakes the consolidation of the public-health portions of the insurance funds, without at the very least stating that this consolidation is a voluntary one which will be realized with participation in the decision by the people insured.

As for the rest, with respect to short-range measures what we have is an enumeration of cliches or measures familiar in each fiscal year which consist in the maintenance or implementation of essential programs. As concerns long-range measures, what we have is the reiteration of pious hopes and romantic plans without the necessary provisions for the enormous revenues needed to finance them.

These things are being proposed without regard for the reactions of the human factor, the problems of getting the doctors to move to the countryside without a motivation for doing so, the problems of the desertion of the hospitals by skilled medical staff officers, and the anticipated reactions of those insured in the IKA [Social Insurance Foundation] and the affected insurance funds. It is self-evident that a program such as the health program, which unquestionably is long-range in scope and of fundamental importance, should not only receive the approval of the agencies concerned but should also be a matter of fundamental agreement with the political parties.

PASOK has not done this. Thus it has undermined its plan from the start and has doomed it to controversy, even assuming that it could be possible for such a plan to be satisfactory.

#### KKE Qualified Approval

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 18 Aug 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The KKE calls on the government to ignore the pressures from the Right, and to espouse and embody in its bill the proposals of the mass public-health agencies, so that at last a National Health System can be constructed and put into operation which will answer to the needs of the people. Our party, stressed Comrade Amilia Ypsilandi to the appropriate parliamentary committee which began yesterday the debate on the bill for the National Health System, regards the introducing of this bill as a positive development and considers that demands of the mass movement are vindicated in this bill. The KKE will be voting for the bill.

Comrade Amilia Ypsilandi stressed especially the positive provisions of the bill, which include the institution of the hospital doctor with full-time and exclusive employment in hospitals, the measures for reorganizing the services of the hospitals, the role and orientation of the Health Centers, the participation of the workers in the administrative councils of the hospitals, and the prohibition on the establishment of new private clinics.

#### Serious Inconsistencies

The bill, stressed the KKE deputy, nevertheless contains serious inconsistencies and turns over the solving of serious and lingering problems to presidential decrees which are to be issued in the future.

The institutional changes, she continued, are capable of being measures in the direction of improving the public-health system, but by themselves they will not decisively influence the perfecting of the National Health System.

First, because the implementation of the positive measures presupposes financial support of a sort which the government does not guarantee it will be providing.

Second, the bill does not guarantee that those insured will receive equal treatment--something which presupposes a more general change in social and insurance policy.

Third, the program for the development of the ESY should cover all hospital care, with a qualitative upgrading and modernizing of the public hospitals, above all those in the provinces. A very strict control needs to be exercised over the functioning of the private clinics. At the same time, the Health Centers ought to practice a public-health policy which will monitor and anticipate the health needs of the people, from their places of work to their places of residence.

This bill, concludes Comrade Aim. Ypsilandi, opens up prospects, but it is the workers themselves and the movement of the medical personnel which will have the final word, as they continue to fight for the implementation and the development of measures in accordance with the needs of our people.

The debate in the committee continued until late in the evening.

12114

CSO: 3521/421

## DOWNING OF KOREAN LINER RAISES ISSUE OF MILITARY'S ROLE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Who Fires in the Soviet Union?"]

[Text] There cannot be more than one opinion regarding what happened to the Korean passenger airplane that was shot down off Sakhalin Island this week. This affair, with 269 dead victims, constitutes a new and very serious impediment to the Soviet Union's international standing. The explanations that have come from the Soviet side up to the present are fragmentary and consequently entirely unsatisfactory. It is purely an ostrichlike reaction when Soviet diplomats find it in their hearts to complain that criticism of the Soviet Union is an unfriendly act and accuse the critics of being hysterical. What is both unfriendly and not just slightly hysterical is to fire at defenseless people.

In time, a more satisfying explanation must come from the Soviets. Preferably, that should happen before Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko meets George Schultz, the secretary of state of the United States, in Madrid next week. But what has to be considered in a broader context, because it is of significance for the Soviet Union's relations with the international community, is this: what can this tragedy tell us about political control over the awe-inspiring military apparatus in one of the world's two superpowers? There is little reason to expect an answer from Gromyko on that.

Such a question must be based on the assumption that the top leadership in the Kremlin probably would have said no to a request to shoot down the airplane if the matter had been put before the Politburo. The leaders would--presumably--have said no out of consideration for the consequences because this was a thing that, first of all, amounted to a serious exacerbation of relations with the Western world, and particularly the United States and Japan. That exacerbation is occurring at a time when Washington and Moscow were showing some signs of coming close to practical cooperation in very important areas. That is not in the Soviet Union's interest.

Consequently, it must seem as if the problem of the airplane--which really was off course--was "solved" because of certain special military considerations, and that apparently is done on a very simple basis--namely, "Our



territory is violated by somebody, and we fire. The consequences for the politicians, or for the relatives of the passengers, are not our affair."

There are two parallels to this week's tragedy--two episodes which it is reasonable to regard as resulting from the same line of thinking. One of these is concerned with the South Korean airplane that came in over the Kola Peninsula in April 1978 after a piece of grotesquely erroneous navigation. It also was fired at, but not with a missile, and the pilot managed to make an emergency landing on a frozen lake.

The other is concerned with the Soviet submarine at Karlskrona in 1981, to limit ourselves to the one episode where even the Soviet Union admitted that one of that country's naval vessels had violated another state's territorial sea waters. The most obvious conclusion in both of these cases is that the higher-ranking Soviet military people do what they want to do and rely upon the politicians to be able to sweep up the china that is smashed all around the world.

If that is so, it means that the countries that have dealings with the Soviet Union, as most countries do, must bring their rules, or their recipes, regarding how to behave toward that country up to date. One idea has been to the effect that the military have become so powerful in the Soviet Union that they can block any policy they do not agree with, so that, for example, they can oppose budgeting steps that are not in their interest. That is worrisome enough in itself, and it is a possible explanation for the continual increases in Soviet military expenditures in spite of the stagnation of the national economy.

But if the military also, entirely on their own, have a free hand to complicate and put a strain on relations with other nations--and even with all nations--we are faced with an entirely different situation. Then the politicians will have become figureheads and what Gromyko will have to tell Schultz next week will be entirely without interest, and so will what Olof Palme says about visits by Soviet submarines. Specifically, it then will not be the politicians who have their finger on the trigger--and perhaps not on the well-known "button," either.

9266

CSO: 3639/168

## REPORTER EAVESDROPS ON PALME IN SECRET FOREIGN AFFAIRS BOARD

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 83 p 11

[Article by Greger Morin]

[Text] Swedish journalist Greger Morin, who works at the local radio station in Malmo, takes us to a turbulent meeting of the Swedish Foreign Affairs Board. This report could cause problems for him, since these meetings are secret. Greger Morin was present in disguise and was not discovered. Here he reveals how Olof Palme tackles a hot issue.

An extraordinary session of the Swedish Foreign Affairs Board was convened. This is the "first string" of Swedish politics: the party leaders and the highest officials in the Foreign Ministry.

Meetings of the Foreign Affairs Board are secret but, disguised as a bottle of Ramlosa Mineral Water, I managed to attend the board's most recent meeting.

Olof Palme called the meeting to order.

"Today for once, gentlemen, we will lift up our eyes and discuss Swedish foreign policy in its macroscopic perspective. Let us put aside, for now, submarines, Christiania, and Mauno Koivisto's choice of neckties. We must now discuss the major issues. The wings of history will beat the air like . . ."

"Like the Social Democratic Party whip," Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelsohn said.

"You shut up! I am seeking inspiration," Palme thundered.

Center Party leader Thorbjorn Falldin puffed nervously on his pipe and thought about his house in Norrland. This is what he usually does when Palme gets excited.

"Damned upper-class snob," Falldin mumbled.

"Where was I? Oh yes. Sweden is under a vicious attack," Palme continued. "It is of primary importance that we discuss the problems we are facing

and reach agreement on a common game plan for our entire foreign policy. We must act as a team, in which everyone knows his job. We must improve our offense game, as well as our defense, and close the gaps in our midfield."

"He sure uses a lot of sports terms. That is because his children are beginning to run faster than he does," Liberal Party leader Ola Ullsten told Ulf Adelsohn.

Palme continued undaunted.

"We must find a strategy to counter the threat from the continent. In recent years we have suffered numerous provocations at the hands of the European countries. I need only remind you of . . . May I have the list, please?"

A Foreign Ministry official gave Palme a piece of paper.

Palme began to read it with an indignant look on his face.

"First of all: At the initiative of Italy, the Swedish candidate for the chairmanship of the Council of Europe was defeated. It was decided that a country with legal immunity for its highest officials was not a worthy representative of the European judicial tradition."

"Worthy representative!" Palme repeated and saw that his indignation was shared by the others.

"Secondly," Palme continued, "Sweden has been sued at the European Court in Strasbourg in connection with an expropriation case in Stockholm. The municipality forced the owner to let his property fall into disrepair over a period of 20 years."

"There are other cases in Strasbourg, as well. Some of them involve our secret ban on certain professions. A chemistry teacher and a carpenter want to sue us."

"As you know, unlike the other countries, we have a government official as our representative in Strasbourg. We have told him that if he does not put a stop to this, he can kiss an otherwise promising career goodbye. Still, it is possible that his efforts may fail."

"Thirdly," Palme continued, raising his voice slightly, "Denmark is threatening us through the EC Commission: the import ban on meat and chrysanthemums and financial subsidies to shipbuilders."

"Gentlemen, this is a particularly serious threat to our trade agreements with the EC."

"Fourthly: Denmark again. We could have problems if the Kattegat affair is settled in the International Court in the Hague. As you are aware, we have

two different policies in the Baltic Sea and in Kattegat. If Denmark convinces the court that Hesselø Island should be the reference point for the boundary, we will lose the battle of Kattegat."

"If, on the other hand, we succeed in using the mainland as the reference point, we will have problems with the Russians in the Baltic Sea. After all, that is their Baltic Sea policy. We will maintain a Danish policy in the Baltic Sea and a Russian policy in Kattegat. Whatever we do, we will end up in a bind." Palme sighed deeply.

"Fifthly: Our system of justice which has the highest goal any system can have, namely to protect the state from the citizens, is under attack in Europe. The omnibus clause against tax evasion is being examined by foreign legal specialists, our informant law is being slandered by liberal lawyers, our computer system with information on private individuals is being criticized . . . "

Palme lifted his eyes and looked sternly at his audience.

"I hardly need to add that, in these matters, we also have internal enemies. Lawyers, writers, and third-rate journalists do not understand what is best for the country and are criticizing us harshly. These devils are writing about this in the foreign press. Unfortunately, we cannot compromise the foreign press by threatening to discontinue subsidies to them."

"You must be thinking about that guy from Malmö. Morin, or whatever his name is," Ola Ullsten said with disgust. "He called me a 'technocratic stick-in-the-mud' in a Danish newspaper."

(My mineral water disguise bubbled up. I had to hold the cap tight to keep from exploding with laughter.)

The man from the Foreign Ministry quickly typed something into his computer:

"Morin, Greger is his name. ID number 540202-6976, single, income 120,000 kroner, possesses a driver's license, no automobile, two credit cards, Danish girlfriend, no back taxes registered. He has checked out books by Saul Bellow at Malmö City Library for years. He also checked out a book on prostate problems in middle-aged people and an Anders And album."

The man from the Foreign Ministry continued his report:

"His apartment has three tables, six chairs, two recliners, a sofa, and a Pioneer stereo system. That is in addition to a bed and kitchen utensils. He . . . "

"Yes, yes, that is enough," Palme interrupted. "He is always criticizing government control of individual citizens."

"Damned slander," Falldin said, as he puffed feverishly on his pipe. "Anyone

who criticizes our administrative interest in the individual must have a lot to hide."

"Unfortunately, we have nothing on him that will stick in court," the Foreign Ministry official said.

"We will have to introduce an omnibus clause against disloyal behavior. Whatever is not expressly permitted is forbidden," Ola Ullsten suggested.

The man from the Foreign Ministry jotted that down carefully.

Palme came back to his original thought. "We must come up with a team concept to solve this. We must make a quick counterattack, a breakaway."

"Let us see," Palme said didactically. "What channels are being used to unleash these attacks on Sweden? Apart from our inner enemies, that is."

"Is it Norway?" Palme asked and then answered his own question:

"No. Where would they buy liquor if their state liquor monopoly went out on strike?"

"Is it Finland? No, they have enough problems with their other border."

"The question is," Palme continued, "Over which of our boundaries is this stream of slander coming that is hurting our prestige out in the world? Where is the flood of cheap liberalism, hoof-and-mouth disease, and the distortion of history coming from?"

"In which country is Christian the Tyrant called Christian the Good?"

The Foreign Ministry official quickly looked it up in his Readers Digest World Atlas.

"Denmark," he said eagerly. "It must be Denmark."

"That is exactly right, brothers. I have suspected that all along but, generous as I am, I wanted someone else here to come up with it."

Ola Ullsten noted the rising opposition against this haughty attitude.

"Olof, I cannot stand it when you speak ill of liberal, liberal . . ."

"Liberalism, Ola. You forgot your own ideology when you recruited the Liberal Party to fight for the Strong State. Liberalism or hoof-and-mouth disease. It is like choosing between cholera and the plague."

Now Ulf Adelsohn was boiling over. "Are you comparing our ideology to some



damned cattle disease? And another thing--I become enraged when you speak ill of Poul Schluter. Now there is a real man with hair on his chest!"

Ulf Adelsohn fidgeted nervously with his tie and pulled at his hair. He found it meaningless to continue in his agitated condition.

"Ulf," Palme said, "You and your party are just as involved in this matter as the rest of us. The Conservative Party defended the law that protects officials from being sued for dereliction in their duties. It was we Social Democrats who softened the law up a bit."

"The Swedish right has always supported a strong state. Do you not know your own party's history?" Palme asked with the tone of a school teacher.

"Yes, but we have criticized Swedish laws frequently in recent years," Adelsohn said in a matter-of-fact manner.

"Precisely," Palme answered. "When strong economic interests are threatened by the authorities, you shout at the top of your voices. But your interest in the individual citizen is just a bluff--the same as with the rest of us."

"No, Ulf. It is no use. You are just as responsible as we are."

Palme understood that the troops were now united. The NCO's had joined their ranks.

Olof Palme took a new approach. "We must stand up to Denmark and stop this flow of slander. They have not forgotten the Treaty of Roskilde. They want to avenge the loss of Skane and Blekinge."

"And Halland," Falldin interrupted. "Halland is an important province."

The Foreign Ministry official asked for the floor. Palme nodded.

"I believe that now is the time to discuss the diplomatic aspects of this issue. We at the Foreign Ministry deal with a more long-term perspective than the government."

Palme swallowed the insult and the Foreign Ministry official continued.

"We stand for continuity and centuries of experience. As you know, it is we officials who have ruled the country since the 16th Century."

Palme turned red, but soon realized that the man from the Foreign Ministry was right.

"For us, the treaty of Roskilde is nothing but a piece of paper, although a fine one at that. We take no notice of foreign policy defeats. I say this simply for your information."

"If it is not on the record, then it simply does not exist," the Foreign Ministry man said.

"With regard to Kattegat, we have had the same policy for centuries. When our chief legal expert met with his Danish counterpart in New York last winter, he had cotton in his ears so he would not hear what the Dane said. Consequently, there is no record that the Danes have tried to open new negotiations on Kattegat."

"This means, according to the same logic, that there has been no attempt by the Danes to initiate negotiations. In a word, if it is not on the record, it does not exist."

"It is like a citizen who has lost his ID card. He does not exist either," Adelson laughed.

The Foreign Ministry official felt that he had complete control over the meeting.

"It is like Palme's letter to Schluter last July. It was found by pure accident between two books in the embassy library in Copenhagen."

The Foreign Ministry official turned over his paper.

"The books are entitled 'How to Explain Away a 16-Percent Devaluation' and 'How to Make a Norwegian Believe You Are Danish'. These are simply books of general instruction to our diplomats. The latter book has been used to sic the Danes and Norwegians on each other over the Jan Mayen boundary dispute."

"And what are you getting at with this speech?" Palme asked suspiciously.

"We should combine the old diplomatic tactic of 'divide and conquer' with modern computer technology that is redefining our knowledge of the world around us."

"The first thing we will do," the Foreign Ministry man continued, "is to renounce our claims in Kattegat and declare the region to be Norwegian territory."

"Our second and decisive step will be to do as we did with Grethe and Svend Jensen on Hesselø Island. We ignored them which, by definition, means that they do not exist. We will expand this tactic and declare that all of Denmark or, better yet, the entire wicked world that is oppressing us, to be nonexistent."

Palme howled with enthusiasm.

"Now that is what I call active, militant neutrality. That is nonalignment

taken to its ultimate consequences," Palme said.

The man from the Foreign Ministry almost wept with joy.

"If we connect all our computers together we will have entire people, countries, even the entire world in our hands. Then mass destruction of computer records could be used to erase the entire world, so that we could become truly non-aligned."

"Then we could input poor peasants in Southern Tasmania, with whom we could feel international solidarity." Palme was seeing visions.

Palme turned to the man from the Foreign Ministry.

"I hereby appoint you chief supervisor of Operation Sweden. You have all the authority and, with an increase in the liquor tax, you will have all the resources you need."

Palme leaned forward:

"But remember! If you fail, you will be in trouble. If you bungle this project, I will personally appoint you ambassador to Copenhagen."

9336

CSO: 3613/184

## DEFENSE MINISTER ENGELL WANTS LONGER CONSCRIPTION PERIOD

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 Aug 83 p 8

[Article by Solveig Rodsgaard]

[Text] The present service time of nine months is too short, and the government will therefore presumably propose an increase in the conscription period when the negotiations on a new defense agreement are begun in the course of the winter.

Defense Minister Hans Engell told BERLINGSKE that the problem of nine months' service time is greatest for the army conscripts in combat troops, who, according to the minister, cannot reach the necessary level even if the military in general provides for good utilization of training during the conscript time. Engell also said that the question of more conscripts can be taken up in the coming defense negotiations.

In this, the defense minister is in agreement with the defense chief, General Knud Jorgensen, who also thinks that the conscription period is too short. And that defense improvement is only possible with increased appropriations. The defense chief's assessment of the defense situation comes from an answer to the Defense Committee of the Folketing, and the answer is an evaluation of viewpoints, which Colonel C.F. Hagen presented in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in the course of the summer.

Colonel Hagen is very pessimistic about the defense situation, but the defense chief says that the Danish armed forces as a whole and within the given framework is of such a quality that it must be called reliable. But the defense chief did agree with Colonel Hagen in "some of the unfortunate situations he pointed out that have a limiting effect on the combat ability and staying power of the Danish forces, and that therefore make the Danish military to a great extent dependent upon allied reinforcements."

"I believe that the training period for conscripts, particularly in the army's combat troops, is critically short. The reduction of conscript time from twelve to nine months presupposed on the one hand that a standing force of 8,500 men would be established with regular personnel having a longer service requirement, and on the other hand that the conscript units could be given a purposeful and

and intensive training with the goal of their being able to take their place in the mobilized strength."

The defense chief continued: "However, the reductions in the army's standing forces that took place later, including reductions in regular personnel, have meant that these goals could not be completely lived up to. Replacements for these reductions of units in the standing forces have had to be made by the use of conscript units, that is to say units with soldiers who have only had nine months training."

"If this is compared to the insufficient recruiting activity of recent years and to the resulting limited in-service training of conscripts, the level of training of the mobilization force can hardly be designated as very satisfactory," the defense chief said.

On the other hand, the defense chief disagrees with Colonel Hagen's evaluation that "an isolated surprise attack on Denmark at the present time is a probable possibility."

9124

CSO: 3613/136



## DEFENSE MINISTER REPLIES TO SDP ATTACK ABOUT FUNDS CUT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Michael Ehrenreich]

[Text] Defense Minister Hans Engell rejected criticism from the Social Democratic Party's defense spokesman, Knud Damgaard, who yesterday in a speech at Christiansborg attacked the defense minister for not keeping the defense agreement on plans for savings at the Alborg air station.

According to Knud Damgaard, it was determined in the preparations for the defense agreement that the savings should be made at the Vaerloese air station. Recently the defense command announced that these plans have been given up and that the savings will come at Alborg.

"Up to now it has been a surprise that the minister has reported so little to the 11 man committee. Now it seems to be such gross neglect that a strong complaint must be made to the minister," Damgaard said yesterday at a DSU conference.

The 11 man committee consists of representatives from the parties behind the defense compromise.

Defense Minister Hans Engell said: "I must reject the statements. The defense command has made a proposal, and it will now be discussed in accordance with customary practice with the organizations before it is presented to the 11 man committee."

In reply to Damgaard's general criticism that the minister has not kept the committee sufficiently informed, Engell said: "This criticism is unreasonable. At no time have I withheld information from the committee; on the contrary, several times on my own initiative I raised various questions for discussion by the committee members."

"I consider it important that cooperation in the committee work well, and therefore at the next meeting of the committee on 13 September I will encourage Knud Damgaard to elaborate on his viewpoints," the defense minister said.

9124

CSO: 3613/186

## COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN: DENMARK SHOULD HALT BUILDUP

Copenhagen LAND OG FOLK in Danish 27-28 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Danish Responsibility"]

[Text] The public should be alarmed by the information which has come this week about the effort by the United States to expand the DEW line radar chain in Greenland. Reactions, however, have been very limited.

The politicians who claim that Greenland is Danish will not disclose the information which every Danish county could ask for when superpower United States wants to install a radar station which can also be used for offensive purposes. Greenland now has another argument for being released from involvement with Danish foreign and military policy.

The information that the American radar chain will be expanded in Greenland was only disclosed because of journalists closely questioning Uffe Ellemann Jensen during his visit to Greenland. The question came just after both the Danish foreign minister and the chairman of the Greenland Home Government had promised more openness concerning military expansion on Greenland. They both kept silent about the fact that the American Embassy in Copenhagen made a request months ago for expansion of the radar chain.

The request was made at the same time as the ICC [Inuit Circumpolar Conference] approved a resolution that the Arctic must not be armed, but that the area should be a military void. Immediately before that, Soviet submarine buoys were very conveniently found in the fjord by the Greenland capital Nuuk.

The whole thing fits beautifully together, as one has seen in every single jigsaw puzzle connected with an increase in NATO. But foreign and defense policies are still under Danish supervision according to the home rule law.

The Greenlanders can therefore justifiably say that it is up to us in Denmark to prevent the United States from getting away with their plans for a military buildup in the Arctic. That responsibility must be lived up to in Denmark if we are to show solidarity with the forces among the Eskimos who want the Arctic demilitarized.

## COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN INTERVIEWS LYNCE ON U.S. BASES

Copenhagen LAND OG FOLK in Danish 26 Aug 83 p 1

[Article by John Wilken: "USA Strategy Brings Greenland Into Danger Zone"]

[Text] The United States wants not just one, but two new radar bases in Greenland. This was reported by ATUAGAGDLIUTIT/GRONLANDSPOSTEN in its latest issue. At the same time Steen Folke (Left-Socialist Party), based on the discussion in LAND OG FOLK of a new radar station in Greenland, raised the question with Defense Minister Hans Engell in the Folketing. Folke wanted to know what purpose the station would serve and by whom the decision on a new station was made.

## Greenland Protest

Now it appears that it is a matter of installing two radar stations from the United States. The chairman of IA [Inuit Ataqatit, Marxist-Leninist party favoring total independence from Denmark], Arqaluk Lynge, has protested against the stations. He believes that they can very well be used for offensive purposes. He said that the two other parties, Atassut [centerist party favoring close ties to Denmark] and Siumut [moderate leftist party favoring greater local autonomy], during their participation in the ICC [Inuit Circumpolar Conference] at Frobisher Bay in Canada, participated in a decision that the Arctic area must not be developed militarily.

There is hardly any doubt that the two DEW line stations have an offensive purpose. They will be equipped with the most modern hardware of the current technology. The reason why they will be on the coast, while DEW line stations have previously been both on the coast and on the inland ice (two each location) is that the coast is easier to supply.

## System for Attack

The two new stations expected to be constructed will especially be used to guard the southern part of Davis Strait. At the same time they will be able

to control American missile systems which will pass over the Arctic on their way to attack the Soviet Union. The same purpose will be served by the development of the Thule base.

The two new DEW line stations will be located on the island Sermersooq (north of Nanortalik) and south of Qeqertarsuatsiaat (Fiskenasset) or just south of Sioraq (Braen Frederikshab Isglimt).

Obviously the chairman of the Greenland Government, Jonathan Motzfeldt, knew about the two new radar stations, but he has not told his party members in the Landsting anything about it. That is what Hans Pavia Rosing told LAND OG FOLK on Tuesday.

The request for the new bases came to the Danish government through the United States Embassy in Copenhagen. The Greenland Home Government has had nothing official to say about Greenland being dragged into NATO's military policies, which are determined in Copenhagen.

9287

CSO: 3613/196

## PLANS TO MODERNIZE RADAR CHAIN INCITE DEBATE ON U.S. BASES

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 26 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Anders Jerichow: "New Expensive American Military Investment on Greenland--USA Asks Denmark for Greenland Soil for New Radar Installations"]

[Text] Greenland is at the center of an extensive modernization of the most forward United States warning chain against Soviet bombers. While Denmark has known for one year about the American plan to construct two new radar stations on Greenland, the Home Government now says that it is just now being informed. The new plans are creating a debate in Greenland about the risks of an American military installation. But the final decision as to whether an installation will be built will be Denmark's.

The United States now wants to make a large investment in expanding its military installations in Greenland.

The American Defense Department has for an entire year planned the construction of two highly advanced radar installations on the Greenland coast. In Denmark the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Greenland Affairs were notified last summer. On the other hand the Greenland Home Government was first notified of this in May of this year. A radar station is planned at Fiskenasset 150 km south of the capital Nuuk (Godthab), and another on the mountain called Sermersoqh at Nanortalik near the southern tip of Greenland.

They will be erected as links in a total modernization of the United States most forward warning chain for defense against Soviet Bombers. In the American DEW (Distant Early Warning) line--which extends from Alaska in the west to Scotland in the east--the United States already has four DEW stations, called DYE 1-4 in Greenland. Number one is out by Holsteinborg on the west coast, number two and three are on the inland ice and number four is on a small island off the east coast by Kulusuk.

The new American plans are intended to reduce the activities on the inland ice, and in exchange strengthen the chain by building the two new stations



at Fiskenasset and Sermersoqh. At both places it will be necessary to build a small airfield and a pier.

In a report to the Congress in Washington the United States Defense Department stated that during the next 2 years about 800 million kroner will be required in 1984 and 1.4 billion kroner in 1985 for a total of 31 new radar installations in the DEW line chain. Or a price of about 75 million kroner each.

#### No Notice

The Danish Foreign Ministry received the first request last summer from Washington for permission to look for a new place for a couple of new radar installations. According to Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Hoyem, the Home Government in Nuuk was immediately consulted before Denmark gave the Americans the green light. But this is denied by the administrative chief of the Home Government, John Jensen.

"The Americans' desire for two new radar stations was not even mentioned orally to the chairman of the government, Jonathan Motzfeldt, before May or June of this year. In June we received our first written notification."

#### Demand Information

The American plans again raise the debate over the American military presence in Greenland. A vehement revival was caused immediately before the Landsting election in April when WEEKENDAVISEN disclosed that the United States was planning a modernization of the Thule base in northern Greenland for 700 million kroner--without Denmark having informed the Home Government of the matter.

Since then the Danish ministers involved have discussed their respective obligations to Greenland.

Tom Hoyem: "My responsibility is to tell Greenland what is going on. It is Uffe Ellemann Jensen's responsibility to comply with the treaties which we have with foreign countries. And it is Hans Engell's responsibility to take care of defense matters."

Immediately following the formal application by the United States to have the two pieces of land of about 68,000 square meters each placed at their disposal at Fiskenasset and Sermersoqh, the minister for Greenland affairs asked the Home Government for a statement. The issue was then sent further to the Land Planning Committee, which asked for statements from the communities most involved: Nuuk, Frederikshab and Nanortalik.

In Nanortalik the letter from the committee had just arrived when Mayor Tage Frederiksen in the middle of July noticed a group of American emissaries taking measurements on the mountaintop of Sermersoqh outside the town.

Both Tage Frederiksen and government chairman Jonathan Motzfeldt, however, have declined to take a position on the American proposal.

Tage Frederiksen told WEEKENDAVISEN, "We will definitely not reply until we have more information about the American plans. We do not know what buildings they want to erect, what installations they really want to place, what requirements there will be for roads, for an Atlantic pier, for an airport, when this will happen--or whether they will use Greenland labor."

Also Jonathan Motzfeldt, who is chairman of the Land Planning Committee in Greenland, requires more information before he will take a position on the American proposal, which is a hot potato in Greenland.

The ministry in Copenhagen, according to law nr. 612 "For Greenland, concerning the use of land, town development and construction," has the duty to negotiate with Greenland's Home Government.

Law professor and constitutional law expert Poul Meyer at Arhus University interprets the law in this way: "Greenland must be asked politely--but its reply is immaterial. It is Denmark which decides."

Inuit Unhappy--Hoyem Confident

Confidence in the DEW line is primary, that it can give the United States a warning of attacking Soviet bombers 2,400 km or 3 hours away before the bombers come in over the central United States military installations. Each of the installations is capable of detecting aircraft up to an altitude of 20 km. At the same time the line is a backup communications link between United States defenses and NATO installations in Europe.

The DEW line also serves as a link between the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and the controversial BMEWS installation in Thule which is to be modernized with the 700 million kroner. This supersophisticated Thule installation is capable of detecting objects the size of a football 5,000 km out in space, and has the mission of warning of a Soviet nuclear attack a few minutes after launch, and calculating the missile's target so that the United States can retaliate. The book "Greenland--Pearl of the Mediterranean" which was published last year, told of vital offensive functions assigned to Thule by the United States which could make Thule a Soviet target in the event of war.

Information concerning the modernization of Thule caused the Inuit Circumpolar Conference--a cross-political Arctic movement--to demand "full information on the activities of the American base in the Arctic." Hans Pavia Rosing, president of the movement, declared that "ICC views very seriously the attempts to make the Arctic region a war zone in case of a superpower confrontation." The movement includes all of Greenland's political parties. And today a representative of ICC, Lars Rasmussen, told WEEKENDAVISEN that "It is vital to us that the Arctic will only be used for peaceful purposes."

Minister of Greenland Affairs Tom Hoyem, who visited the DEW line last month, denies that there is cause for concern. "I am personally very confident that in this area the radar installations are using the most advanced technique so that we can take care of protecting the air space and observe what is coming. I am both confident and pleased that the Americans are assisting in Greenland. That is reassuring for the entire western world."

#### No Base Fee

The minister also pointed out that the American installation brings advantages for Greenland infrastructure in the form of jobs and service functions.

The advantages and disadvantages of the new installation will now be considered in the Land Planning Committee and the three municipalities.

By building the two installations out on the coast the United States can save most of the large maintenance expenses of the installations on the inland ice--the priorities of which are being downgraded.

On the other hand Greenland fears that this downgrading will affect the airport at Sondre Stromfjord, which has had access to the two old bases among its largest tasks. The new bases will be able to be supplied by the Americans themselves from the sea.

The Greenlanders also want to know if the construction of the new installations can damage any fishing areas or in any way influence their near environment.

A delegation of American officials was in Copenhagen 6-8 July for the first "clarifying discussions" with representatives of the three Danish ministries.

In Greenland Jonathan Motzfeldt wants to give his first report on the American plans when the Landsting has its autumn meeting in September.

At this time the discussion of the American installations will simultaneously reopen the debate about introducing an American "base fee." Motzfeldt has previously been an advocate of this. But the suggestion has been rejected by the United States and Denmark. Instead, Greenland is now demanding a "special land tax" of 15 percent of the foreign employees at the military installations. It is just now the object of a legal test at Ostre Landsret in Copenhagen, after foreigners have contested Greenland's right to demand taxes.

The minister for Greenland affairs believes that Denmark can give the United States an answer to the request for the two areas within one year.

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## BOTH KKE'S SEEN ATTEMPTING TO INFILTRATE ARMED FORCES

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 27 Aug 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The contestation is now manifest between the two KKE's for extending their influence in the Armed Forces and the factionalization of as many servicemen as possible under the pretext of organizing them for creating better living conditions in the Armed Forces.

The infiltration of the two KKE's in the services--which, according to political observers, is achieved with government toleration--is presently assuming a new dimension with the calling of a conference in Athens of KKE-Int. [RIGAS] VERAIOS (youth members who serve in the Armed Forces).

The conference agenda includes the democratization of the Armed Forces, the rights of the soldiers, better living conditions, et al.

In the meantime, the antagonism between the two KKE's for the infiltrating of the Armed Forces, especially among the soldiers, is revealed also in a document which I VRADYNI exclusively makes public today.

It concerns a "strictly interparty memo" for "supporting the Committee on the Rights of the Soldiers" and the "Conference of the Soldier-Members of RIGAS VERAIOS" which will take place in Athens today. Certain political observers interpret the government tolerance as a sort of reward for the two KKE's for supporting PASOK's general policy.

The KKE-Int. Document

The full text of the KKE-Int. memo, which I VRADYNI makes public today exclusively, is as follows:

"INTERPARTY MEMO  
ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE  
CIRCULAR FOR THE ARMY

"This circular of the Organizational Office concerns matters related to comrades serving in the forces and for this reason special care should be taken as to those who are going to read this paper which is a strictly inter-party memo.

"a. Support of the Committee for the Rights of the Soldiers [EDF].

"According to the resolutions of the Third Congress, there is need to increase our participation in this committee. For this reason all Base Party Organizations [KOV] must recommend comrades who have been released from the army in the past or recently for contacting or participating in the EDF. This need becomes all the more urgent because of our participation as full members in the Committee for the Rights of the European Conference of the Soldiers Unions and also from the fact that we are organizing the Athens meeting.

"b. Meeting of Soldier-Members of RIGAS FERAIOS [RF].

"On 28 August, a meeting of RF soldiers will take place in Athens. The success of this meeting is necessary in order to advance the work for the democratization [of the Armed Forces] and for the rights of the soldiers. For this reason every KOV should contact all serving comrades who were either members of KOV or are now serving in a camp in their area. Giannis Velgos in Athens is the main contact.

"c. Each KOV must prepare a list of comrades in the army and point out a possible way of contacting them. This list should be sent with particular care to the RF Central Office for the Organizational Office.

"d. All comrades about to enter the service (army) should contact the Army Committee of the Central Council for information and future contacts.

"Comrades, we are particularly waiting for the lists [of comrades in the army] by 15 August so that the notices for the meeting may be sent.

"PARTICULAR CARE IS NEEDED AS TO WHOM AND HOW THE TIME AND PLACE OF THE MEETING IS ANNOUNCED.

"THE ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE"

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CSO: 3521/438



## BRIEFS

SEIZED PLANE, WEAPONS TO AIR FORCE--The aircraft "Karavel" the two West Germans used to smuggle weapons from East [sic] Berlin to a Far East country will become the property of the Greek Air Force. Following the court's decision to confiscate it the craft was sealed and is now closely guarded at the Mikza airport where Air Force technicians and engineers will inspect it thoroughly tomorrow. Thus, the two engine jet and its cargo of about four hundred thousand bullets and four hundred automatic rockets will become the property of the Armed Forces. Already, officers of the Third Army Corps have removed the bullets and explosives. [Text] [Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 28 Aug 83 p 1]

CSO: 3521/438

## FORCES COMMANDER ACTING TO DEAL WITH CONSCRIPTS' LOW MORALE

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 17 Aug 83 p 9

[Text] Horten (NTB)--Poor morale among draftees in the armed forces must be counteracted with better information about the special nature of military service in the opinion of the military task force appointed by the head of the armed forces to analyze the content of the comprehensive study of morale among armed forces personnel.

The morale study, which was released in April, concluded by saying that one out of every four draftees did not do well during their initial service period. Poor morale among soldiers is due primarily to lack of understanding about what service involves, the pressures of authority and poor financial conditions.

## Limited Value?

One of the things the task force recommended in its report was that the armed forces look more closely at relations between officers and men when it comes to authority and discipline. But the task force did not take a stand on morale-building steps that require political decisions and military spending, such as the age-old soldiers' wish for higher pay and more free trips home.

This provoked criticism by soldiers' representatives when the task force analysis was presented at the National Conference for Representatives in the Armed Forces in Horten Tuesday. Corporal Kai Latun from Oslo, who is a member of the National Committee of Military Representatives, said that the task force report has limited value as long as it just recommends measures that do not call for appropriations in addition to the military budget. The soldiers' representatives gave ready applause to his speech.

## Information Inadequate

The chairman of the military task force, Commandor Tor Georg Monsen of the Defense Supreme Command, stressed that the conditions surrounding the well-being of draftees during military service are complex and difficult to analyze. But a persistent theme is that information is inadequate in a number of areas, he said.

Negative reports about the armed forces from former personnel should be counteracted with information provided to new soldiers when they come in for their physicals as well as when they report for service.

## AIR FORCE OFFICER: MOST EXPERIENCED FIGHTER PILOTS LEAVE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 Aug 83 p 41

[Article by Rolf L. Larsen]

[Text] Rygge, 30 Aug--There is a pilot crisis at Rygge Air Base. Within a year a third of the fighter pilots at the air base could quit unless counter measures are set in to prevent pilot flight from the air force. "We are losing our best and most experienced people. We must now go out and compete with the civil airline companies with respect to wages in order to hold on to pilots. Now political solutions of these problems are needed," the chief of Rygge Air Base, Colonel I. Ornulf Thune told AFTENPOSTEN.

Thune and his staff of pilots and instructors are concerned. Now they are sounding a clear warning to our political authorities: "We are now at the critical point. Unless something is done quickly now it will have a negative effect on training, security and preparedness at Rygge Air Base."

Colonel Thune has followed the training of fighter pilots since the early 1950's. "The situation has never been as bad as it is now. Unless we deal with the attrition rate, it will result in our having to add around 20 new people on the fighter side at this air base each year. That is too many in relation to the number of instructors and the size of the fighter detachment at the base. That would lead to an obvious overburdening of the instructors and it would also sharply weaken security and preparedness at the base. It takes many years before a fighter pilot is properly trained and has reached the level of experience we consider adequate," said Thune.

Before the pilots come to Rygge, they go through a 2-year training period at Vaernes and in the United States. This period costs around 4.5 million kroner per pilot. In addition it costs around 4 million kroner a year to further train pilots in Norway. Society has to shell out enormous sums of money for each pilot. A fighter plane in the F-16 class costs around 100 million kroner. Therefore pilots have responsibility for enormous materiel values.

"It is economic nonsense to keep on investing enormous sums in training pilots we cannot hold onto longer than their 8-year service period, as is the case now. We are losing pilots in their best years. While they are 29 or 30 years old. While they are getting good and experienced, they are bought up by the civil companies. These companies could buy up much younger pilots for a lot less money.

"We are now losing our best people," said Thune. The leadership and pilots at Rygge Air Base are very impatient after seeing the results of the recommendations from the so-called Hammerstad group which presented its report at the beginning of the year after several months of evaluating the precarious pilot flight situation.

"The committee's work and results are a step in the right direction. But now this work must be followed up quickly," said Thune.

Lieutenant Rune Sorensen of squadron 332 (F-16) has 1 1/2 years left of obligatory service at Rygge Air Base. He made this comment on the current situation:

"I like being in the armed forces, but I cannot live with the uncertainty that confronts us. Unless conditions get better in a short space of time, I will probably go out and let civilian airline companies know I am interested in a job," he said.

Sorensen said that the armed forces should contribute more permanent assignments, housing loans and wage increases.

Many at the base share Sorensen's views. Major Gunnar Rolland with 16 years of service in the fighter squadron, put it like this: "The uncertainty we are experiencing now could have serious consequences for our whole role as instructors with the squadron. We keep on getting wholly untrained people and have to run through the same programs constantly. This is reducing the entire training level of the squadron. We cannot build up the experience and expertise that is needed to be able to make use of the planes we have, the way they can and should be used. This in turn reduces all our preparedness planning and the estimate other countries make of our air capability.

"We are losing our dignity. And of course having such a young and inexperienced pilot staff as we have now affects our security. This in turn means that we must resign ourselves to lose more airplanes in the years ahead. So far we have lost two F-16's and unless we can break this vicious cycle, the losses will just increase in the years ahead," said Rolland.

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## DEFENSE OFFICIAL ADMITS PROBLEM WITH PILOTS LEAVING FORCES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 Aug 83 p 41

[Article by Knut Falchenberg]

[Text] The idea of setting up a separate training program for civilian Norwegian airline pilots has been brought up again. "We are now in contact with the Transport Ministry concerning such a training program," defense undersecretary Oddmund Hammerstad told AFTENPOSTEN. He said that the pilot situation in the air force is a problem but that attrition in the past 5 years has not been greater than the supply of newly-trained military pilots.

The air commander of North Norway, Major General Alf Granviken, said that the jet fighter branch was manned at two-thirds of full strength, but that this will not mean putting any of the F-16 fighters in the hangar for any length of time.

"It is relatively easy to describe the situation," Major General Granviken said. "We have a serious shortage in the number of pilots we have. It is also a considerable problem that we lose those with the most experience, the very ones we need to train fresh young pilots."

There are also unfilled positions on staffs and in the leadership apparatus in the field. In all Granviken estimated that the air force is short 65 officers in Group I, those with the Military Academy. The crews of fighter planes are two-thirds of desirable strength. In other pilot groups, such as helicopter pilots in the rescue service, the situation is somewhat easier, he said.

There has been speculation that one of our fighter squadrons in North Norway can no longer be kept in operational condition.

"Of our two fighter squadrons in Bodo, squadron 331 has been operational with the new F-16 planes for a year now. The other, squadron 334, is becoming operational after a transition to the new type of plane. We do not know yet whether we will have to keep one squadron at a lower operational status than we had anticipated. It is not inconceivable that this might



be the case, but we cannot give a clear answer at this time," said Major General Granviken. Technicians are also in short supply, but Granviken had the impression that in the balance between the lack of technicians and the lack of pilots, the trend was toward the biggest restriction on air activity stemming from the pilot shortage.

"Of course the lack of pilots would affect combat capability in a war and I cannot see that any important measures have been adopted aside from the fact that pilots no longer have to serve for a longer period of time if they attend the Military Academy," Granviken said.

Among observers in the other defense branches, which also have to live with serious shortages, some told AFTENPOSTEN that the air force could have done more to counter the problems itself. Since the fighter arm, with 72 F-16 planes on order, will be almost cut in half in a few years compared to its former size, it should be possible to keep them manned. In addition the air force has retained more of the older F-5 fighters than originally anticipated and no attempt has been made to fill the available quotas at flight school, despite the fact that there has never been any problem about the quality of applicants. Norwegian flight students in the United States have always been at a superior level compared to pilot trainees from other NATO countries.

Undersecretary Oddmund Hammerstad of the Defense Ministry said that about 180 pilots have left in the last 5 years, while about the same number joined up. Things will get better in a few years, due to the fact that compulsory service was increased from 6 to 8 years in 1979.

Hammerstad said the air force must do more to sell itself as a challenging job opportunity instead of just throwing the ball over to the politicians, who after all have only limited means at their disposal. They are working on economic supplements, but that is a tedious process that involves trade unions and several ministries. And after all the civilian airline companies will always be able to outbid the armed forces when it comes to wages. Today military pilots already earn the most in the armed forces compared to other groups of specialized officers at the same rank levels, the undersecretary said. Many pilots have decided to take a civilian job even before they put on their uniforms for the first time. The key problem is to arrange conditions so that the most experienced pilots in the corps are not lost, Hammerstad said.

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MILITARY

NORWAY

BRIEFS

DEFENSE LOBBY GROUP GROWING--Around 100 delegates from local branches of the Armed Forces Society will show up when the society holds its national congress in Tromso next weekend. In recent years the Norwegian Armed Forces Society has had a period of growth and the upcoming congress is regarded as very important for the activity and further development of the society, according to a press release. Defense Minister Anders C. Sjaastad will give the main address this Saturday. The congress will also elect a chairman and central committee for the period 1983-85. The present chairman is county commissioner Alf Jakob Fostervoll. The Norwegian Armed Forces Society is a national league of local armed forces societies whose purpose is to work to keep defense determination alive in Norway. The society was founded in 1886. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Aug 83 p 3] 6578

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**NEW HEAD OF STATE ARMS FACTORY DISCUSSES EXPORT ROLE**

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Aug 83 p 12

[Report on interview with Olle Lund, director general of the National Industries Corporation, by Thorwald Olsson, in Eskilstuna; date not specified]

[Text] Eskilstuna, Sunday--"It is only a myth that selling arms materiel on the world market is easy. Weapons customers are choosy, our Swedish regulations are the most restrictive in the Western world, and competition is growing steadily stiffer. We sold to controversial Burma after getting a go-ahead from the government, and we will do so again if we can. I have no compunctions--if I did, I would not have taken this job."

So says Olle Lund, 52, director general of the FFV (National Industries Corporation) in Eskilstuna, the state-owned business giant that has "stepped out of its sheepskin coat" and, in 2 years' time, made a name for itself as a company which, although it receives no subsidies, competes with the giants in the world market. Fifty percent of its arms business is for export--Swedish industry's most controversial exporting activity.

In many ways, Olle Lund is this state-owned business activity's answer to Jan Carlzon, the wonder worker of the SAS. Lund, who was born and raised in Stockholm, has a solid record, having worked for the Johnson Group, Nyby-Granges and Nyby-Uddeholm, among others, and his experience includes positions as chief of development, marketing manager, and managing director.

He was recommended in 1980 by a professional headhunter to be group chairman--that is, director general--of the state-owned FFV.

**Bears Comparison**

After the government appointed him, things quickly began to happen in the stagnating FFV, whose reputation with the Swedish public had been based mainly on sheepskin coats and other surplus items at low prices. For 1980, the accounts for both the arms plant and the corporation showed a profit of zero.

**The transformations:**

1. A fresh new image for the FFV and, in the very first year, a profit before allocations and taxes of 80 million kronor.

2. Sales of 3 billion kronor.

3. A doubling of profits in 1982 to 162 million kronor.

4. A profit level for 1983 that is staying well up with net earnings of 20 percent, comparable to that for the best exchange-listed groups.

When DAGENS NYHETER met with Director General Lund, the dilemma over the trade in war materiel, the success-wreathed package of measures that put the profit stamp on the FFV, and his role as director general in other respects ("consider me a very ordinary industrial managing director") were the main themes.

He and his wife Solveig welcomed us in their turn-of-the-century home by the creek in Parken, the idyllic old neighborhood in Torshälla, 9 miles from the red-brick FFV headquarters in Eskilstuna.

Olle Lund went straight to the point:

"I began the job at the FFV with a ticklish task--that of straightening things out at our subsidiary, Telub, following the politically loaded turns of events surrounding the broken agreement with Libya to train young military cadets. After that, the challenges came in quick succession. So I view myself as a managing director like any other and the FFV as a large manufacturing group that can bear comparison with the best private industrial groups. The fact that the owner is the government makes no great difference: we do not exercise public authority, and we receive no subsidies."

Olle Lund emphasizes that military weapons as well as electronics for vehicles on the civilian side of the business must be made as attractive as possible from the standpoint of quality, efficiency, and price.

#### Problem for the Politicians

"When it comes to the criticism of Swedish arms exports, the case of Burma is as recent as this summer. I have read about the Burmese Government using our recoilless rifles against minority guerrilla groups, but that is a problem for the politicians. The government must approve every export license, and the restrictions are very stiff, as you know: the receiving country must be politically stable--that is, not engaged in war--the purchasers must be the end users, the weapons must be of the defensive type, and so on. Our job is to develop, produce, and sell. Arms exports are necessary if we are to create confidence in the quality and development potential of the Swedish Armed Forces."

DAGENS NYHETER: "Sweden's arms exports are staying at a 'decent' level, and the FFV's mines, torpedoes, and recoilless rifles have a worldwide reputation, is that not so?"

[Lund] "Yes, but the competition is getting stiffer. As an industrialist, I am proud, by the way, that no country can show such results in technical development from the standpoint of the costs involved."

On display in the showroom at FFV headquarters is one example of a possible bestseller in war materiel: a recoilless antitank rifle made of glass fiber plastic. It is produced in Pitea and was developed in cooperation with Honeywell, the American multinational giant. Its designation is AT4.

Olle Lund explains: "It is a weapon in a throwaway package. A projectile is fired at a tank, for example, and then the glass fiber barrel is discarded. The weapon is being marketed heavily around the world, especially in the United States. We think it will be a big seller. It is a variant of our big bestseller since the 1940's: the Carl Gustaf recoilless antitank gun. Our latest mine types and torpedoes also mean hard currency. The problems are centered mainly on the terms of prospective purchasing agreements. France, for example, has more or less the same restrictions as Sweden when it comes to arms sales to other countries, but France has resources for making entirely different promises in the way of credit terms and so on. We have to rely solely on quality, performance, and price."

#### Boss With Responsibility

As a person, Olle Lund gives the impression of being calm and collected. Dealing simply with his colleagues or helping the family out is a matter of course, he says. In his leisure hours, he is chairman of the Torshälla Golf Club, and he jogs 2 kilometers every morning ("regardless of whether I am at home or away").

In his job as company head, he is accustomed to problems. The years he spent in the steel industry with its crises provided him with a great number of useful experiences. He is still on the SSAB [Swedish Steel Corporation] board of directors, and he is pleased to see the upswing there. When he took the job as director general of the FFV, he had already decided how to tackle the stagnating enterprise.

"I worked from the start for a sharper image, and not just by having a new logo made and putting more emphasis on marketing," he says. "By now, we have taken a close look at our products, gotten rid of a number of unprofitable bits, and grown stronger by buying up firms both at home and abroad that will boost branches with a future. Computers and electronics are important development areas for the FFV, which is strong in technology. The fact that we spend 100 million kronor annually on development shows how much we believe and invest in the future."

Olle Lund is known for "getting people to work hard and enthusiastically."

"We at the FFV are not a drab state-owned factory. We operate like any exchange-listed company. If the FFV had been listed on the stock exchange, anyone investing in us in 1981 would have received a fine dividend."

Olle Lund replaced about 50 percent of the management in the FFV group when he did his "housecleaning."



He says: "It is necessary to be able to play ball with each other at all top levels. I feel that a boss must be a boss who assumes his full responsibility, not one who simply puts a nameplate on his door and then compromises away efficiency. And on the subject of scandal in the Forest Service (DAGENS NYHETER note: the building deals with Italy), I caution against making generalizations. At the FFV, the defense branch and the [civilian-sector] companies work together excellently as a unit, even though we draw a clear line between military and civilian products. We have a professional board of directors for the group, and we were the first to use consolidated accounts. No important deals can be made without my knowing about it."

#### Outlook

Olle Lund also emphasizes that growth by the FFV's civilian branch (which now accounts for 30 percent of the business--the goal is 40 percent) means greater opportunities.

He asserts: "We must have a world outlook. We produce leveling benches for wrecked automobiles, and their sales by the Samefa Corporation are doing great, especially in the United States. We are also concentrating on automotive electronics through the CIPRO group, and we are thoroughly involved in aviation and energy development."

The head of the FFV would like to issue an appeal to the Swedish Armed Forces:

"Arms exports increase security in our own Armed Forces, since we can develop further thanks to earnings and experience. I am therefore asking for faster orders for our new products, even if the quantities ordered are smaller. The rest of the world shows lukewarm interest if we have no references here on our home ground."

Olle Lund is therefore going to turn the FFV into a world trademark. But this does not mean that sheepskin coats for surplus sales are being forgotten.

"We have also made a profit in that department, and I feel, by the way, that it has a future."

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## DANISH COLUMNIST: KATTEGAT DISPUTE RELEVANT TO JAN MAYEN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 22 Aug 83 p 3

[Commentary by Ole Kromann]

[Text] Oslo, August--The Danish-Swedish boundary dispute has sparked great interest in Norway. The newspapers are printing whole-page reports and no Norwegian has any doubt as to where "Denmark's Jan Mayen," tiny Hesselø Island, is located.

Norway and Denmark also have an unsolved ocean boundary dispute in the area between the Norwegian Arctic island of Jan Mayen and Greenland. And even though Norwegian authorities have been reserved in their comments, they have noted that Denmark has given the green light to drilling in a disputed region, before negotiations have begun.

In a similar conflict with Iceland several years ago over fishing and continental shelf problems in the region between Iceland and Jan Mayen, Norway avoided provocations that could have initiated an Icelandic-Norwegian "cod war" and an agreement was reached in May 1980.

This agreement gives Icelandic fishermen the right to fish in a zone off Jan Mayen. Further negotiations will be undertaken by a negotiating commission to determine the boundary line on the continental shelf between Iceland and Jan Mayen.

The outer limit of the zone is 200 nautical miles (370.4 km) from Jan Mayen. This boundary, however, must not go beyond the midway line with respect to Greenland or beyond the limits of Iceland's economic zone.

The agreement stresses that, "at a later date," Norway and Denmark should negotiate the boundary separating the East Greenland and Jan Mayen zones.

It is interesting to note today that the Labor Party government of that time was under strong pressure from the largest opposition party, the Conservative Party, which accused the Social Democrats of having an irresolute posture toward the Icelanders: "There is reason for serious concern over the government's irresolute posture," the Conservative Party parliamentary leader Kare Willoch said in August 1979.

The foreign minister at that time, Knut Fryderlund, postponed the planned negotiations with Iceland because of the Conservative criticism, which had created an unfavorable climate for negotiations.

As the leading opposition politician, Kare Willoch was no less demanding with regard to solving the boundary dispute with Denmark. He demanded a consistent position by the Labor Party government toward its Danish counterparts in the Anker Jorgensen government.

"It is now of particular importance that the government (Odvar Nordli--ed.) formally establish the Jan Mayen zone at the midway line between Jan Mayen and Greenland as soon as possible, so that it will be perfectly clear that Norway cannot accept any deviation from that line," Kare Willoch said in May 1980.

Since he and Poul Schluter became prime ministers, the two Conservative politicians have avoided bringing the conflict to a head. The Norwegians want to negotiate a settlement, while the Danes apparently want a settlement through arbitration to make the temporary arrangement permanent.

When Denmark expanded the Greenland zone to 200 nautical miles on 1 June 1980, the Norwegian government sent a note of protest. Denmark made it clear, however, that it did not wish to extend its jurisdiction beyond the midway line.

The overlapping region between East Greenland and Jan Mayen is about 80,000 square kilometers or about three times as large as the disputed region between Iceland and Jan Mayen.

The Labor Party government of that time did not believe that the conflict could be settled through arbitration and also ruled out the possibility that Norway could accept a joint Danish-Norwegian inspection of Jan Mayen, since it feared that the Russians could demand a similar arrangement in the Norwegian-Soviet conflict in the Barents Sea.

It was 50 years ago this year that the Norwegian Supreme Court recognized the Norwegian occupation of Jan Mayen. The 380 square kilometer volcanic mountain came under Norwegian sovereignty by royal decree on 8 May 1929.

The island probably was first discovered by the Dutch whaler Jan May in 1614 and the Netherlanders conducted whaling expeditions from the island until 1642. In 1921 a meteorological station was built on Jan Mayen. It was taken over by the state in 1922, after the region around the station was occupied by a state-supported expedition. In 1926 this occupation expanded to include the entire island.

The Danish press is incorrect when it writes that Jan Mayen, like Hesselø, is occupied only by a couple operating a lighthouse. The island, which has Norway's only volcano (last active in 1971), is under the authority of the Defense Ministry. The approximately 30 people who live permanently on Jan Mayen operate the meteorological station and the Loran C navigational equipment which helps American nuclear-armed submarines in the North Atlantic.

## BRIEFS

DENMARK, CANADA OCEANS AGREEMENT--Yesterday, Denmark and Greenland entered into an environmental agreement covering the large ocean area between Canada and Greenland. The agreement lays down procedures for cooperation in case of pollution disasters in connection with navigation and oil exploration, among other things. The new environmental agreement was signed in Copenhagen by Minister for Greenland Affairs Tom Høyem and the Canadian Minister for Indian and Northern Affairs, John C. Munro. [Text] Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 27 Aug 83 p 3] 7262

CSO: 3613/188

## NONSOCIALIST COALITION'S ENVIRONMENT MINISTER TELLS PLANS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 19-25 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Anders Jerichow and Øjvind Kyre]

[Text] The new government has made Denmark cleaner, says Environment Minister Christian Christensen. The environment is not to take the brunt of the economic crisis, and that is why he seeks to pursue a progressive environment policy originally pioneered by the left wing. The minister praises the efforts on the part of the grassroots movements and promises them support and cooperation.

Environment Minister Christian Christensen listened silently when his fellow party member, Jens Steffensen, chairman of the environment committee of the Folketing, last Wednesday presented the new environment policy of the Christian People's Party at a meeting with the press.

On behalf of his party, Steffensen was gratified especially to point to the 'need for a special environment tribunal.'

Forty minutes earlier, in his office on Slotsholmsgade, no more than 300 meters from Christiansborg [Parliament], the minister had rejected the very same idea: "Violation of the environmental law must be dealt with within the framework of the statutory provisions in general."

"There has been such a vast development in the debate within this area that already today we have solved this problem," the minister says on the demand for a tribunal in the new glossy platform of the party, printed on genuine Danish recycled paper. However, he advocates special training of the police to provide them with the needed expertise to deal with environmental cases.

#### God and Green Politics

"Man is obligated to take care of the natural values created by God," it says in the introduction to the new program. And with this attitude as his mental ballast, Christian Christensen has set himself the task, from his green environmental office at Slotsholmen, to provide the four-leaf-clover government with a green profile.



"Looking back at the past year in which our government has had the government responsibility, I definitely must say that this government has made Denmark cleaner," he says. "We pursue a progressive line in this environment ministry because the government is of the opinion that environmental issues will not have to await a socialist majority to be solved. We present proposals which the other side in the Folketing cannot but vote for."

He is even being praised by a member of the grassroots movements: "After a meeting with him, we find that he gives the impression of listening carefully and of being interested in what we wanted to say. It thus was a pleasant experience talking with him," says Tarjei Haaland from the Organization for Information on Nuclear Energy, who has discussed nuclear waste disposal by ship with the minister.

Christian Christensen: "The Organization for Information on Nuclear Energy has asked me whether it might be possible to look into the elements of danger involved in a collision in Øresund [the Sound] with the nuclear waste disposal vessel Sigyn. I find it a relevant question and, therefore, intend to bring it up in the course of our discussions with the Swedish minister."

#### No Grassroots Going Too Far

Actually, the environment minister started his career as minister by using pompous and bombastic language in referring to local grassroots and environmental groups: "We have got to look into the question how it is possible for a pressure group to get such an influence on the economy of an enterprise that the enterprise gets into economic difficulties," he said when the firm of Paul Bergsøe & Son got into difficulties with its lead production last year.

Today, the minister says: "We have looked into the claims that pressure on the part of environmental groups caused investments of millions of kroner to be made. However, it turned out that there was no basis for those claims. I know of no environmental groups that have gone too far."

"It is extremely important for the population to react when something goes wrong. Many grassroots movements are very serious and competent. However, their danger is that they become one-eyed and develop one-tracked minds. For that reason every extremist environmental group will have to be watched most carefully. However, as long as they work seriously, they will be getting all the support and cooperation which we can give them from here."

Erling Vangsted, chief of the industrial office of the Environmental Protection Board, adds: "We have no examples that 'pressure groups' have caused enterprises to be closed down by forcing through demands by illegal means."

#### People Afraid

Christian Christensen finds that he has got the support of the people: "Of course, it is difficult pursuing a progressive environmental policy

in times of economic crisis, but, on the other hand, people are very interested in these questions because they have come to affect them very closely. People get scared when they breathe polluted air or when they get fly ash into their nostrils. They become scared when lead pollution prevents them from eating the vegetables from their gardens. They become afraid when they have to collect water from their wells, because they know that it may contain substances endangering the lives of infants. They become afraid when they discover that the fish in the Cattegat die because the sea is polluted. That is why we cannot leave the problems unsolved in times of economic crisis. It is not the environment which is the cause of our poor economy, and the economy is not to be restored at the cost of the environment," he says.

Foreign studies, undertaken by the United Nations, show that pro-environmental production today will benefit both the employment situation and production. There are thus more jobs in pro-environmental production, and also to the individual industry it may be advantageous to take pro-environmental measures. It results in a better utilization of raw materials and resources, UNEP, the UN environment program establishes.

Similar studies have never been undertaken in Denmark, although Jens Kampmann, director of the Environmental Protection Agency, has said in BERLINGSKE AFTEN that his staff is ready to do it. In this connection, Christian Christensen says: "It is very important that we undertake these impact studies. It will then be found that, in the long run, money may be saved, also in industry."

At the same time, he points out that orders worth billions of kroner may be obtained within the field of export of environmental engineering technology. Ten Danish industrial leaders, headed by Jens Kampmann, director of the Environmental Protection Agency, have this very year been to South-East Asia to promote Danish environmental engineering technology.

The environment minister, therefore, would welcome a market study on the possibilities of exporting Danish environmental engineering technology and "finds it a good idea, which we ought to follow up" to ask the commercial department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to look into the possibilities of this special export market.

"The ways we are discussing here, however, are new and dangerous because elimination of the borderlines between private and state initiatives is involved," Christian Christensen says.

#### Crime Must Not Pay

A brand-new report on enforcement of building and environmental laws shows that "being counsel for the defense in environmental lawsuits is a rewarding task." The report, which was presented less than 3 weeks ago, recommends that violation of environmental laws be punished according to a more expediently formulated penal legislation under the environmental protection legislation and, in the case of particularly serious offenses, according to provisions under the penal code, so that, at the same time, a longer period of limitation will apply in the case of certain violations.

So far, in repeated cases, it has paid to violate the environmental protection legislation. The fines have been considerably lower than the immediate profits resulting from the violations involved.

"There are black sheep in every flock," says Christian Christensen, "and the legislation has been calculated to give people the idea that it pays to omit these measures. That will not do. It ought to be a costly affair to violate the law. Sentences today are light, but the judges are unable to change their sentencing until they get political signals."

However, the minister does, indeed, promise that this will happen:

"I find that the period of limitation of 2 years is too short, and this consideration is included in our deliberations prior to the introduction of a new bill in the coming sessional year of the Folketing. The new bill must also ensure that it will not pay to break the law. In addition, one must ensure that the municipalities will not connive at violations."

#### Rejection of Idea of Environmental Police

In addition to rejecting his party's proposal for a special environmental tribunal, the minister rejects the idea of the establishment of a special environmental police force or a department of the Assistant Public Prosecutor for environmental cases. "I do not like the idea at all of the establishment of an environmental police force and have got to reject it, for I fear that it may destroy the relationship of trust existing between us and the various enterprises."

Erik Holst, former Social Democratic environment minister: "I am not at all certain that it is a special tribunal that is needed. We rather need special expertise to assist the police, which today has difficulties instituting proceedings involving special environmental problems." Holst, therefore, prefers that "the problem be solved by means of a special department of the Assistant Public Prosecutor, similar to the financial crimes police, which may be established administratively."

Ole Bernt Henriksen, environmental spokesman for the Conservative Party, "is, in principle, very skeptical of special departments of the Assistant Public Prosecutor. They water down our entire legal system. Would it not be preferable for the public prosecutors throughout the country to keep more up to date on this issue?" He finds "the environmental legislation strong and good. What we discuss now are the sins of the past. They may equally well be expiated within the Environmental Protection Agency."

Even if the firm of Niro Atomizer outside of Copenhagen sells desulphurization equipment worth millions of kroner abroad, where it is required that the smoke from the chimneys of power plants be purified, sulphur pollution from Danish chimneys causes half the Swedish air pollution problems.

"On receipt of a report on these sulphur pollution problems, we have got to have a serious talk with the power plants," the minister says. Investments of 4 billion kroner, in addition to annual operating costs of 1 billion kroner will be required to reduce the amount of pollution.

Another environmental problem also gives rise to concern, although it stems from the other side of the Sound. The minister has demanded that the shipments of radioactive waste from the Barseback nuclear power plant by the vessel Sigyn be suspended, pending documentary evidence from his Swedish colleague, Birgitta Dahl, to the effect that the vessel Sigyn is capable of maneuvering in rough sea.

Christian Christensen, moreover, promises that, in a meeting with the Swedish minister next week, he will stick to two additional demands. For one thing, he will be demanding an analysis of Sigyn's movements in the much frequented Sound, where the risk of a collision with other vessels may be great, and where the consequences of an accident so close to Copenhagen and the almost equally densely populated South Sweden may be even greater. For the other, he will demand that Sweden hands over the results of a study on shipments of nuclear waste. The Swedish minister has mentioned the study but has never given the Danish authorities an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the material.

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INDUSTRIALIST CALLS FOR CHANGES IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Aug 83 pp 1, 8

[Interview by Heinz Heck, DIE WELT staffer, with Siegfried Mann, senior executive of the Federation of German Industry (BDI); date and place of interview not indicated: "Industry Will Accept Environmental Protection, but Without Regimentation. BDI Calls upon Federal Government for 'Free Market Organization'"]

[Text] The executive director of the Federation of German Industry (BDI), Siegfried Mann, in an interview with DIE WELT, appealed to the Federal government to follow its overall free market strategy in environmental matters as well. German industry is willing to exert increased efforts, though placing its hopes on the market forces even in the area of environmental protection. Mann cautioned against German concessions. The questions were posed by Heinz Heck.

[Question] Frequently, in the past, the BDI has responded defensively to the rising level of environmental protection taxes. More recently you have been speaking in terms of an offensive environmental policy. Does this indicate an about-face?

[Answer] It's the continuation of the strategy which we have been pursuing now for some time. The defensive aspect was the inevitable response to a government policy that regarded the fastest possible pace of passage of legislation as the evidence of its environmental effectiveness. If we are to speak of an aggressive environmental policy then the focus of our considerations is the recognition of the fact that we will only bring credible solutions to the problem of our environment if we move ahead in a committed way along the lines of modern technology. But we will only gain the innovative impulses necessary for this if we use the forces of the free market for such an effort.

[Question] So far, centralized planning has prevailed in environmental policy. More recently there is increasing talk of free market instruments. Is it your opinion that, for example, in specific legislative measures such as regulation governing large-scale furnaces or the introduction of unleaded motor fuel, the free market instruments could be employed?



[Answer] The regulations governing large-scale furnaces, at least as far as its enforcement is concerned could certainly be used for an arrangement in the sense of free market instruments and I very much hope that this will happen. At the same time this implies a certain change of course in environmental policy as a whole, namely away from the previous rigid police state thinking of the 19th century in favor of more modern and more flexible free market possibilities. Such a concept would tie in closely with overall economic policy strategy supported by the present Federal government.

[Question] Has this strategy of the Federal government made itself felt yet in its environmental protection measures?

[Answer] Certainly the present government in Bonn cannot be charged with a lack of action in the area of the environment. But in choosing its instruments, it is still moving along on the old tracks. There are still no positive indications of free market concept.

[Question] Why are we still mired in regimentation?

[Answer] Because it's part of our traditional, legitimate habits to draft legislation in such a way that not only the goal of the law's enforcement is prescribed in detail and without alternatives for the individual citizen but the way to those goals as well. On the other hand, dynamism and innovation would be liberated in environmental policy if simply one--though certainly binding--ecological framework were laid down for businesses and if they were left free to decide with which installations and what technology they would achieve this goal.

[Question] Proponents of free market instruments take the position that environmental protection could not only be less expensive but even more effective through such a course. These suppositions are based on U.S. experience. Do you think that they can be carried over?

[Answer] I don't believe that we would be able to adopt U.S. regulations without their being tested and modified. But basically they are useful: a free market is a free market. We will be able to find solutions for them in terms of our legal system if we really want to. Part of this will also be a kind of trade-off with governmental emission permissions in specific regions. In ecological market modes such as this the scarcity of environmental goods will find their natural price. In this way environmental protection will become more efficient, the economic structure in endangered regions will not become incrustated and environmental technology will be given opportunities for the future.

[Question] Are you saying that it will also be cheaper?

[Answer] I am convinced that it is cheaper because with such a means of regulation each firm will be given the incentive to find the particular most efficient and cost-effective solution by itself. It will be left up

to the firm to make the specific decisions, in terms of its own plant and sometimes in conjunction with other firms, that will enable it to stay within or even below the levels set by the government for environmental pollution, i.e., for the type and level of emissions.

[Question] Would the German economy respond more positively to such a system than to the catalog of prohibitions that we have known from the past?

[Answer] I'm quite certain that industry will respond positively. I am even convinced that this system is more closely related to basic entrepreneurial attitudes than are governmental prohibitions and administrative regulations. These always tend to trigger a certain defensive attitude even with the greatest readiness to cooperate.

[Question] Many people reject market-related environmental protection if only because they fear more misuse. Do you see any danger that the number of environmental offenders will increase?

[Answer] This system of regulation that we are talking about, should not be confused with the principle of absolute confidence in individual commitment. It is not intended that the government retreat from its own obligation; what it means is that it should allow sufficient room for the operation of business initiative within the legal limits that the government establishes. That is the decisive point which requires less short-term and more medium-term planning: our goal is not what is currently possible in terms of available technology but the broad application of innovative technologies.

[Question] Couldn't environmental protection break down given this latitude of implementation?

[Answer] No, on the contrary: I can foresee a very substantial thrust being given to environmental policy in the broadest sense. We will in this way be developing modern technologies which otherwise might never have come into being. Another overall result will be that we will improve our competitive capacity.

[Question] Won't a country be putting the international competitiveness of its industry in jeopardy if it seeks to play a pace-setting role with its environmental protection taxes?

[Answer] We would indeed be weakening our competitiveness unjustifiably by taking on a permanent pace-setting role, especially in relationships to our EC partners. For this reason we have got to call a halt to unilateral German concessions. The real issue now is a long-range and consistent enhancement of living and production conditions in the interrelated industrial regions of Europe.

The elimination of the last presence of pollution within the country will, by the way, be substantially more costly than limiting emissions at the foreign source. There are also technical questions of coordination. What is urgently needed is a concerted effort in the area of legislation and enforcement as well, for which--at least within the EC--I would say that the clearest and most pressing example is the transition to unleaded motor fuel.

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